

## Mr Mugabe calls on whites to remain

An estimated 200,000 people in Salisbury yesterday heard Mr Robert Mugabe, the black nationalist guerrilla leader, call on whites to remain in Rhodesia if his Zanu (PF) Party won the forthcoming elections. He was speaking at a rally after his return from exile in Mozambique.

## Crowd of 200,000 at Salisbury rally

From Nicholas Ashford  
Salisbury, Jan 27  
Mr Robert Mugabe, the Rhodesian black nationalist leader who spearheaded the guerrilla war against the Salisbury Government, returned today from five years in exile and told a tumultuous rally of his supporters there would be no more injustice based on race and colour.

The head of the Zanu (PF) Party, whose espousal of socialism has struck fear in the hearts of the nation's 220,000 Europeans, called on whites to remain in the country and urged all of Rhodesia's 5,500,000 inhabitants to unite in order to attain a true democracy based on equality.

An estimated 200,000 or more people were at the Zimbabwe grounds in the Highfield black township of Salisbury to greet Mr Mugabe who has rarely been seen in Rhodesia because he spent most of the last 15 years in detention or in exile in Mozambique.

It was by far the largest

crowd to attend a rally given by any of the black political parties taking part in next month's election and, according to some observers, it was the biggest political meeting ever held in the country.

Party officials said the crowd would have been even bigger if police and security forces auxiliaries had not stopped loads of supporters coming in from the countryside.

An exuberant Mr Mugabe, who had flown to Salisbury from Maputo earlier in the day, gave a triumphal speech full of salutes to the crowd and led them in the chanting of nationalist slogans.

The crowd, which included a majority of young people, was well behaved and well controlled by police officials.

However, there were several violent incidents including one in which a man, allegedly carrying a gun, was severely beaten by Zanu (PF) officials within a few feet of the rostrum on which Mr Mugabe and the party's central committee were



Mr Mugabe yesterday: "Refugee camps would be a failure of our struggle."

standing. Police reported a number of violent incidents during the night and used tear-gas to disperse a crowd.

At a televised press conference at Salisbury airport before the rally Mr Mugabe attempted to project himself as a man of moderation whose real aim had either been misunderstood or deliberately distorted.

While conceding that his party's ideology was socialism, he sought to assure Rhodesians that Zanu (PF) "having fought gallantly for what we considered to be our honest objectives, will be honest in peace to achieve the society where all can have a place."

On key economic questions he emphasized that there would still be a place for private farmers and that only under-utilized and abandoned land or land owned by absentee landlords would be used to resettle peasants who were presently confined to the tribal trust lands. There would be no confiscation or seizure of private enterprises.

He said he recognized the anxieties felt by whites and appealed to them to remain in the country. "We have not come to throw them out," he declared. "The last thing we would like to see would be the creation of refugee camps south of the Limpopo river. That would be a failure of our struggle."

However, Mr Mugabe did have some strong words to say about Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the former Prime Minister, about what he perceived to be an anti-Zanu (PF) bias within the British Administration in Rhodesia and about the presence of South African forces in Rhodesia.

He accused the bishop of being "a coward" and of being the main violator of the ceasefire because he was using security force auxiliaries to intimidate people into supporting him.

Mr Mugabe intends to discuss the question of the auxiliaries with Lord Soames, the Governor. He noted that the British

had frequently complained publicly about alleged violations of the ceasefire by his forces but never by the auxiliaries. "We begin to suspect the British are being used by Muzorewa or else they are in collusion with Muzorewa."

Questioned about the announced withdrawal of South African troops based at Beit Bridge, Mr Mugabe said this was not enough. He claimed there were at least 3,000 South African troops operating as units of the Rhodesian security forces as well as another 3,000 South African volunteers. These should be withdrawn also.

On foreign relations Mr Mugabe emphasized that his party would follow a policy of co-existence with South Africa. "We will not disrupt the trade that has been established between our countries," he said. His party would follow a non-aligned foreign policy leaning neither to east nor west.

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Leading article, page 13

## BR aims to cut back 30,000 jobs by 1983

By Paul Roudledge  
Labour Editor  
British Rail wants to shed 30,000 jobs, one in six of its labour force, over the next three years as part of a big rationalization and productivity programme.

Rail union leaders, however, have given early warning of the plan, which British Rail argues is vital to its success, and to the industry's efforts to win increased government investment for electrification and modernization.

But British Rail has until now been vague about figures, and the gross job reduction envisaged by management will be greeted with dismay by the unions, who have put a price of £300m on the wages and hours aspirations for this year.

British Rail plans to restructure its traditional activities in the light of economic prospects for the next decade, and wants to move closer to the continent, to work in a more flexible working and a standard rostered week that would make Sunday a normal working day.

The proposals include new manning concepts. Signalling could be carried out by other station duties and some trains could run without guards.

A gross manpower reduction of 30,000 by 1983 is suggested, although the net loss on numbers would probably be only 10,000 to 15,000. Much of the cutback would be achieved through natural wastage.

Productivity negotiations with the unions have opened tentatively. Agreement has not been possible on one-for-one involving all three rail unions—the National Union of Railwaymen, the Transport Salaried Staffs Association, and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen—and it is increasingly likely that parts of the productivity programme will be swept into the 1980 pay round.

After settling for just over 10 per cent last year (substantially below many other public sector deals), British Rail management is becoming reconciled to conceding wages of 17 to 18 per cent this April, approximately in line with the rate of inflation. But it is looking for a "significant improvement" in productivity as part of the settlement.

If this is not achieved, the industry cannot approach the Government for fresh modernization capital with any optimism, it is argued. British Rail is watching closely developments in the steel industry, which is costing the railways £2m a week in lost revenue, for indications of trade union and managerial attitudes to wages, productivity, and investment.

In the first phase of the productivity programme, British Rail wants union cooperation in freight and parcels rationalization schemes, agreement on methods of rostering, and allocation; closure of some sidings and shunting operations; and a start to administrative streamlining.

The second phase, starting next year, will involve further major changes on the freight side: job versatility that breaks down barriers between blue and white collar work; modernization of signalling, and greater flexibility of work rostering and introduction of "open stations" so that ticket collectors are gradually phased out.

British Rail will vigorously oppose the unions' demands for a 35-hour working week, which would cost the industry nearly £150m a year, but the management is drawing up proposals to cut the hours of work. Railwaymen work an average of 48 to 50 hours a week.

After the latest round of increases, British Rail wants to keep fares at their present level for the rest of the year. But with rising oil prices affecting its big diesel locomotive fleet and electricity tariffs going up, the management is telling the unions that only a productivity-related deal this year will stave off a cost-price-price spiral that could lead to a punitive cash limit set for the industry by the Government.

## Union to seek appeal against order halting spread of steel strike

By Donald Macintyre  
Labour Reporter  
Leaders of the biggest steel union will seek leave this morning for an immediate appeal against an injunction ordering it to rescind a decision to spread its strike to the private sector and restraining it from secondary picketing.

The decision by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) to call out more than 15,000 members in the private sector from yesterday stands until a meeting tomorrow of the executive. Mr William Sims, the union's general secretary, made clear that the executive alone had the power to rescind its instruction in accordance with the Court of Appeal decision to grant the injunction on Saturday (Law Report, page 4).

Mr Sims said: "In so far as we are obliged by the injunction we will of course comply with our legal obligations." Mr Sims, however, emphasized that the union is determined to challenge the decision by Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Lawton, and Lord Justice Ackner, when Mr Len Murray, general secretary of the TUC, said yesterday "had professed in plaudits for the trade union movement as a whole."

Although Mr Murray did not say yesterday the ISTC is likely, if it seeks it, to receive TUC financial support for an appeal to the House of Lords against a decision which will further muddy the waters of tangled convolutions between the Government and union leaders on amendments to the Employment Bill dealing with trade union legal immunities.

Mr Murray said that the TUC shared the ISTC's "genuine and grave concern" at the decision and at the court's "remarkable denial" to the union of a right to appeal to the House of Lords.

He added: "It is imperative that this issue should be resolved quickly and the TUC, therefore, strongly supports the ISTC's request for a speedy hearing of an appeal by the House of Lords."

The ISTC is hoping that despite the Court of Appeal's refusal to allow an appeal, the Law Lords will do so today.

Mr Sims also said he hoped that the Lords would show the same urgency in hearing the case as had been displayed by the Court of Appeal in overturning at an unusual weekend session, the High Court ruling on Friday against the 16 private steel companies which sought the injunction.

The British Steel Corporation (BSC) last night remained hopeful of a breakthrough in the dispute after the adjournment of pay negotiations with 11 unions other than National Union of Blastfurnacemen (NUB) and the ISTC. The unions were said to have made considerable progress.

Mr Sims emphasized yesterday that the union had not yet received Saturday's judgment in writing. But speaking after consultations with the union's solicitors, he said: "Throughout the whole of this dispute all that we have done has been strictly in accordance with the law of this country, especially as laid down by the House of Lords in recent cases."

He added: "Lord Denning is apparently saying that in any case where the Government controls the purse strings of a firm or an industry, those who ask that the purse strings be loosened are no longer in a trade dispute, but are involved in some form of political dispute."

This will, of course, affect Continued on page 2, col 5

## Egypt speeds peace process with new normalization date

From Christopher Walker  
Jerusalem, Jan 27  
The delicate and slow-moving Middle East peace process has been given a boost by an unexpected Egyptian decision to accelerate most aspects of the normalization of relations with Israel well ahead of the deadline set down in the Camp David agreements.

The decision was taken personally by President Sadat, who is now reported to have instructed his Government to consider February 15 as the starting date for "complete" normalization rather than July 26, the day laid down in the official timetable of the peace treaty.

Senior Israeli ministers were informed of the decision privately last week and further amplification is expected tomorrow, when the Egyptian

leader is due to make an important speech in Cairo. According to Mr Amis Mansour, the editor of the influential Egyptian magazine *October*, Mr Sadat's move came in response to Israel's discharge of its peace treaty commitments in the Sinai "with complete honesty and honour."

Israeli officials explained today that the acceleration would particularly affect the negotiation of trade, cultural and scientific agreements between the two countries. The controversial exchange of ambassadors is still scheduled to go ahead as planned on February 26.

President Sadat's intervention was particularly welcome to the Israeli Government because it appeared to reverse an Egyptian decision, announced less than two weeks ago, to slow down

the pace of normalization in economy and culture.

It was cited by an Israeli Foreign Ministry official as evidence that Egypt was not now intending to link normalization with progress towards agreement on Palestinian autonomy, the central issue on which there are still wide differences.

In Israeli political circles, there was speculation that Mr Sadat may attempt to link the advance in normalization with growing pressure on Israel to hasten its withdrawal from the remaining one-third of Sinai. Under the Camp David agreements, this must be handed back to Egypt at the latest in 1982.

In a significant and closely related development, both

Egypt and Israel have decided to switch responsibility for normalization away from their foreign ministers and into the hands of their respective defence ministers. The coordinated move is expected to improve cooperation in sensitive areas.

The disclosure about speeding up normal ties coincided with the formal beginning of normal relations between Israel and Egypt.

Because of the coincidence of the Jewish sabbath, the opening of land barriers between Egypt and Israel was delayed 24 hours until this morning. Throughout the day, the Ministry of civilians who succeeded in making the crossing was kept to a minimum because of complex visa and other formalities.

Sadat move: President Sadat is planning counteraction against Arab countries, led by Saudi Arabia, which broke off diplomatic relations with Cairo in protest against its peace treaty with Israel. According to Cairo press reports, the Egyptian move will be announced by Mr Sadat in his policy speech to Parliament tomorrow.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of people went on strike and demonstrated in several Arab countries in protest against the Israeli-Egyptian normalization.

In Damascus, an estimated 500,000 people paraded through the streets, many of them shouting slogans against Mr Sadat. In Baghdad, one million angry demonstrators attended a protest rally.—UPI and Reuter.

## US Olympic Committee votes for games to be moved, put off or abandoned

From Patrick Brogan  
Washington, Jan 27  
The American Olympic Committee will formally ask the International Olympic Committee that the Moscow Games be moved, postponed or cancelled. The committee decided this by a unanimous vote last night. A decision whether the United States should boycott the games if the request is rejected will be taken if that happens.

The American committee will meet Lord Killanin, president of the IOC, at Lake Placid, New York, on February 10, on the eve of the Winter Olympics. The IOC may then meet, and grapple with the problem, and whatever the final decision, its members will vote on the instructions of their governments.

President Carter set a deadline of February 20 for the American committee to withdraw from Soviet Union. The American committee would like to postpone the decision whether or not to boycott the games as late as possible—invitations must be accepted or rejected by May 24. The President may insist that

his deadline be respected, and after yesterday's unanimous vote, and with the country behind him, the committee can be little doubt that the American committee will abide by his decision and boycott the games.

Since there would seem to be no chance that the Soviet Union will renounce its Afghan conquest, it may be taken that the Americans will not go to Moscow. If they can persuade a majority of other nations to agree, the Olympics will be moved and it will be up to the Russians to decide whether to accept a schismatic Olympic with their satellites.

Conversely, if a majority of the IOC decides to stick with Moscow, as Lord Killanin has repeatedly said they should, then the Americans, in face of the decision of what to do with their athletes, and those of nations which have joined the boycott.

Emotions flared in Britain. Sir Denis Follows, chairman of the British Olympic Association, said emotion and pressure caused the United States Olympic Committee to ask for the Olympic

Games to be moved (the Press Association reports). "Patriotic fervour" has been emotionally aroused in the United States which makes it difficult for them to look at things rationally," he said.

But Sir Denis said he thought that members of the British Olympic Association were unconvinced by Mrs Margaret Thatcher's request to boycott the Moscow Games. Canadian boycott call: Mr Joe Clark, the Prime Minister, said that Canada would boycott the Olympics if Soviet troops were not withdrawn from Afghanistan.

In Berlin, Herr Willi Daume, president of the West German Olympic Committee, said he thought it possible that West Germany would participate in the Olympics even if the Government recommended a boycott.

One of the chief Soviet Olympic organizers, Mr Vladimir Popov, said in an interview with the West German weekly, *Der Spiegel*, that the games would go ahead whatever happened.

Kabul reports, page 5

## Royal yacht refit national scandal, Tory MP says

By George Clark  
Political Correspondent  
The refit of the royal yacht Britannia being carried out at Portsmouth, which could cost up to £2m according to some MPs, was attacked yesterday by Mr Charles Irving, Conservative MP for Cheltenham, as nothing short of a national scandal.

Mr Irving said: "The Ministry of Defence must have gone totally bonkers. This yacht was reequipped only about five years ago. I in no way blame the Royal Family, because they have nothing to do with the cost of the refit. A spokesman thought that there might have been some confusion with a parliamentary answer given on January 15, which put the estimated cost at £1.25m."

Mr Irving, and also Mr Robert Cray, Labour MP for Keighley, are tabling Commons questions to Mr Francis Pym, Secretary of State for Defence, about the cost of the refit.

The last refit, in 1976, cost £1,379,000. This time it could cost around £2m, although much depends on the extent of the repairs and maintenance. Since the last refit the Britannia has cruised 27,280 miles. The present work began in September and is expected to take another 31 weeks.

Royal visit: The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh will pay a state visit to Italy this autumn, officials in Rome said on Saturday (Reuter reports).

The Queen will attend a banquet at the Quirinale Palace and have talks with President Pertini.

She is also expected to visit other parts of Italy but it is not known whether she will meet the Pope.

With the possible loss of more than 20,000 jobs in steel and coal at Port Talbot and Llanwern works are being closed, Wales TUC officials fear that the so-called ripple effect of the decline in these primary industries could double the jobless total.

Today's action is a compromise by the Welsh trade union leaders who wanted to launch an all-out indefinite strike. They have given the British TUC until March 10 to take firm action or they say they will proceed with a prolonged strike led by the South Wales miners.

Last night Mr George Wright, general secretary of the Wales TUC, said: "We are urging tomorrow because the Government and the corporation are taking vital decisions which affect every member of the principality without even talking to us."

If the corporation continues to import subsidised coal, the social and economic consequences for Wales will be disastrous.

Mr Nicolas Edwards, Secretary of State for Wales, said it was easy to see steel and coal closures as the core of the economic and industrial crisis. "The truth is far different. This country is face to face with economic disaster. People must be brought to understand the gravity of a crisis that goes far wider than the fate of an individual industry or of a particular region."

## REFUGEES from AFGHANISTAN in terrible need

Crowded into the mountainous territory in Pakistan are over 500,000 Afghan refugees. They could bring little with them, and have been given refuge in a poor country.

They are in desperate need of food, shelter, clothing against the bitter cold, and medical supplies. Proudly independent they are reluctant to ask for help, yet their need is very urgent.

The best way to help the old who suffer acutely is to provide money for supplies. Help the Aged has already sent money for food and medical supplies, but much more is needed, quickly.

Please put your concern into action with a generous gift to: Hon. Treasurer, The Rt. Hon. Lord Maybray-King, Help the Aged, Room T4, FREEPOST 30, London, W1E 7JZ. (No stamp needed).

## No nuclear stations for Denmark

Nuclear power stations have slipped down the list of Denmark's energy priorities. The Government has postponed indefinitely a decision on their introduction. It appears that Denmark will not now be in a position to adopt nuclear power until the twenty-first century at the earliest, if at all. The doubts about the viability for the country, on environmental, safety and economic grounds, were strengthened by the Harrisburg leakage. There is also the problem of disposing of reactor waste.

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## £6,000 drug for one kidney patient

A drug that costs £6,000 for each patient was used at a south London kidney unit, which has had funds for transplants temporarily cut off because of overspending. A decision on new transplants to be carried out before April and ways of funding them is to be taken today.

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## French driver wins

René Arnoux, a former French mechanic turned driver, won his first grand prix yesterday when his turbo-charged Renault finished 21 seconds ahead of the Essex Lotus of Elio de Angelis, of Italy, in Brazil. Arnoux, the world championship leader, was third.

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## Editor questioned

The managing editor of the Madrid newspaper which reported an alleged military plot against the Spanish Government, was ordered to appear before an army investigating officer. The report, linked to the transfer of an army general, has been vigorously denied by ministers.

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## Safety measures by Yugoslav forces

President Tito saw his Defence Minister, who informed him on the measures that the Yugoslav forces were taking to test their preparedness. Military exercises held in some neighbouring countries close to their borders are said to have aroused Yugoslav suspicions.

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## Corsican demands

A crowd of 5,000 demonstrated in Ajaccio, singing Corsican songs, waving the Corsican flag and shouting *Liberté*. Socialists and Communists joined Corsican autonomists in the demonstration whose demands included the suppression of the police and the resignation of the French Minister of the Interior.

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## Victory in sight

Mr Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Iran's Finance Minister, looks set for a convincing victory in the country's first presidential election. The clergy, however, appear to have suffered severe reversals at the polls.

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## Nine-plus tests call to raise standards

Standardized tests for pupils aged nine and 13 and regular checks by the Schools Inspectorate were suggested in a pamphlet aimed at raising education standards. It says that there is a link between underachievement in schools and unemployment, and the raising of standards is "the most vital task facing Britain today."

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## Personal transport: Commuters in Nottinghamshire may operate do-it-yourself bus services

Peking: Promotions within China's leadership expected.

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## Archbishop's farewell: Dr Coggan takes St Paul as his model in his valedictory sermon in Canterbury Cathedral

Classified advertisements: Personal, 23, 24; Appointments, 7, 16, 22; Commercial properties, 22.

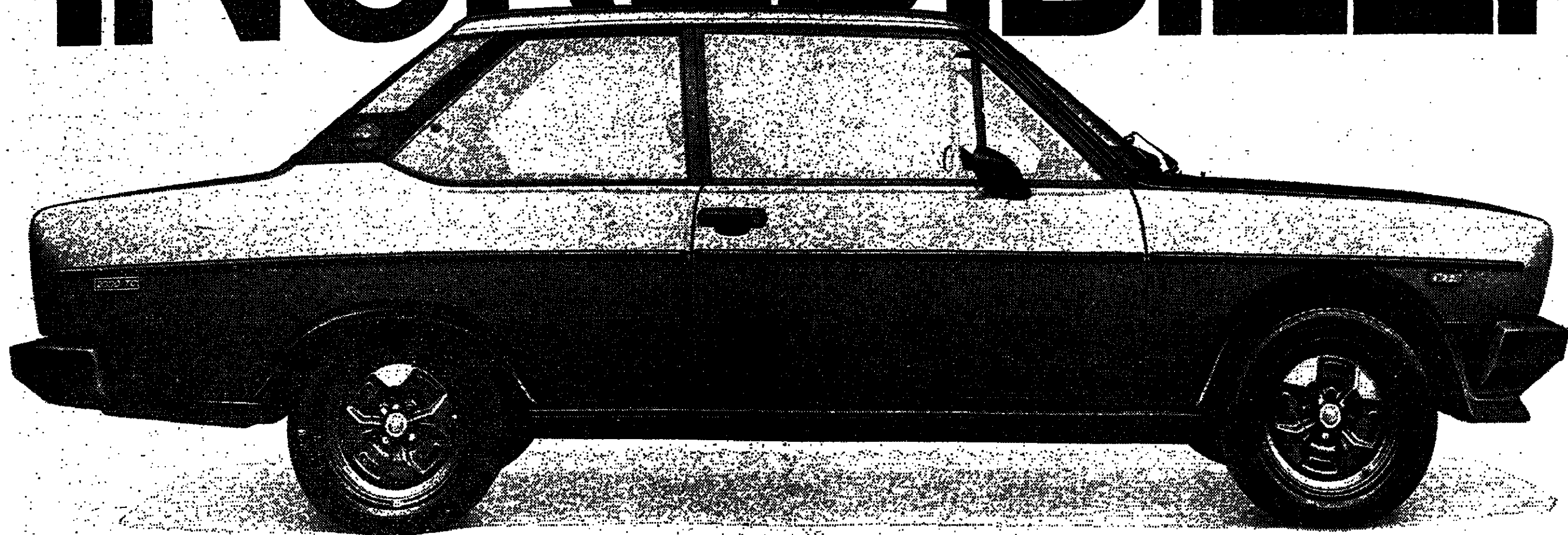
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the car that took first and third places in the Monte Carlo Rally.





## HOME NEWS

## Tests for children aged 9 and 13 urged to raise school standards

By Diana Geddes  
Education Correspondent

National tests for all children aged nine and 13, and the restoration of regular inspection of schools by the schools inspectorate are among proposals for raising standards in schools put forward in a pamphlet published today.

The pamphlet is written by Mr Vernon Bogdanor, senior tutor at Brasenose College, Oxford, and published by the National Council for Educational Standards of which Mr Rhodes Boyson was chairman when a new series of papers on education, of which this is the first, were planned in December, 1978.

Mr Bogdanor, who like the council clearly believes that academic standards in schools have been falling, maintains that in so far as there is a direct link between underachievement in schools and unemployment, the raising of standards represents one of the most vital tasks facing Britain today. "It is an urgent priority in the struggle for economic recovery," he says.

The government of the day should offer a lead, indicating the direction in which improvement was to be sought, Mr James Callaghan, when Prime Minister, had attempted to do that when he launched the "Great Debate" in 1976.

But that debate had petered out. "It is only practical reason seems to have been the introduction of still more committees and working parties composed of those members of the education establishment who are for so many reasons, denied that conditions in schools were a cause for concern," Mr Bogdanor says.

He echoes the sentiment of Mr John Tomlinson, chairman of the Schools Council, who said that the "Great Debate" had succeeded in "merely re-

arranging the deck chairs on the Titanic".

A new debate was now needed, grounded in reality to face economic restraints, and which did not avoid questions of efficiency, which were politically embarrassing or offensive to the amour-propre of headmasters or local authorities.

The first step toward raising standards must be to ensure effective monitoring of school performance, he says.

He calls for the reinstitution of full and regular inspections of schools by the schools inspectorate and a concerted effort to improve the strength of local advisers and inspectors, who tended to be too attached to the ethos of the local authority to be able to criticize it effectively.

The abolition of the 11-plus examination meant that primary schools had little incentive to achieve high standards in basic subjects. New national, standardized tests should be introduced for pupils at, say, nine and 13, to monitor the system and diagnose any weaknesses.

The results of such tests should be made public, as should the results of all public examinations, though league tables should be avoided.

A national teachers' professional council, similar to the General Medical Council for doctors, should be set up to weed out the minority of incompetent or idle teachers recruited during the period of teacher shortage.

Standards in Schools (National Council for Educational Standards, Kay-Shuttleworth Papers on Education, No 1, 75p).

County study shows do-it-yourself service will pay off  
Commuters may run minibusesBy Michael Bailey  
Transport Correspondent

Some commuters in Nottinghamshire may soon be earning £50 to £100 a week by operating large cars or minibuses to take their friends and neighbours to work.

Studies carried out in the county's planning and transportation departments suggest that do-it-yourself bus services operated by individuals or groups could not only provide a better work journey than the overcrowded buses, but also improve the viability of the conventional buses by relieving them of the unprofitable peak traffic.

The charge for passengers on the do-it-yourself 12-seater bus would probably be rather more, say £1.50 return, from an outlying district to central Nottingham, compared with £1 on the bus, but there would be a guaranteed seat, and the per-

sonal bus could divert to pick up and drop people.

"Experience in America," Mr Michael Shillom, county hall official who carried out the studies, says, "suggests that schemes of this kind appeal particularly to people with large families."

Another American experience is that bus drivers may be among those interested in running a personal bus; in fact, some schemes were launched there with the cooperation of the unions.

Mr Shillom says that two-thirds of the £30m a year paid out by the county council to bus companies in subsidies go not on rural services, as most people think, but on urban services made uneconomic by the need to operate a fleet large enough to carry the morning and evening commuter flow, but largely empty for other parts of the day.

"The usual way of dealing with that," Mr Shillom says, "is to try to build up off-peak traffic with subsidised fares. This can be successful but there is a limit to what can be done. We have approached the problem from the other end, by trying to remove the peaks."

Nottinghamshire spends £600,000 a year on bus subsidies, and like other counties is trying to reduce its expenditure further. But this amount is enough to meet only half the bus companies' costs, and further cuts would almost certainly lead to widespread reductions in the county's bus network.

There is a powerful attraction, therefore, in any grassroots initiative that would provide the service while relieving the rates and helping conventional buses.

## Kidney drug cost unit £6,000 a transplant

By Anabel Ferriman

A south London kidney transplant unit, which has had its money for transplants cut off because of overspending, was using a drug that cost £5,000 a patient.

A total of £350,000 has been spent on the drug in the past 10 months at Dulwich Hospital, where 45 patients had kidney transplants and 25 previous patients had supplementary treatment. Most transplant patients receive drugs costing about £1,000.

The drug, Pressimmune, is made by Hoechst and is produced by injecting human white blood cells into horses, waiting for antibodies to develop, taking blood sample, and extracting the serum.

The high cost of the drug was one reason why the kidney transplant unit at Dulwich spent twice its budget this financial year. That led the commissioners appointed by the Government to run the Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham Area Health Authority to order the unit to stop carrying out transplants.

The unit was allocated £200,000 for the year up to April 1980, but spent £400,000 by December and was intending to spend another £200,000. The British Kidney Patient Association stepped in and offered to fund it to the end of the financial year.

The commissioners and the association have been negotiating on the offer because if another 20 transplants are carried out before April it will involve the authority in increased expenditure for the next financial year. A decision is expected today.

Mr Michael Bewick, the kidney transplant surgeon at Dulwich Hospital, defended his use of Pressimmune because it provided an 80 per cent success rate in difficult cases, against 70 per cent for the drugs he used on patients at Guy's Hospital.

Mr Bewick said he had been penalized by the commissioners because he had worked out the cost of his programme, thus making it easier for them to cut it, while many other departments had not done so.

He said that the financial administration of the health service was in confusion because no one knew how much an operation cost. If an authority was asked to make a 10 per cent cut, it did not know how to go about it.

The cost of a kidney transplant using Pressimmune was no more expensive, because the patient could be discharged much earlier, and therefore had to be in hospital for a shorter time he said.

Mr Gordon Marsh, the area administrator, disagreed. "We estimate that with Pressimmune kidney transplants cost about £10,000 for the first year, whereas with the other drugs between £5,000 and £6,000 for that year," he said.

The Department of Health and Social Security said that there was no committee within the department that considered the cost-effectiveness of drugs.

WEST EUROPE  
Danish decision rules out nuclear power for rest of centuryFrom Christopher Follett  
Copenhagen, Jan 27

The Social Democratic minority Government in Denmark has postponed indefinitely a decision on introducing nuclear power stations.

The postponement, announced yesterday by Mr Poul Nielson, the Energy Minister, and Mr Ivar Noerregaard, Minister for the Economy and the Environment, means that Denmark will not now be in a position to adopt nuclear power in this century.

Previous Government policy had aimed at reaching a decision on the issue of nuclear power this year, and putting the matter to the nation in a referendum next year, as Sweden is to do in March.

Nuclear power has figured in Danish energy plans since 1976, with 1991 the earliest feasible date for a power station to go into action, but doubts as to its use on environmental, safety and economic grounds, have been exacerbated by the Harrisburg incident in the United States.

Moreover, public opinion is split on the issue, and there is a strong anti-nuclear lobby both inside and outside the Folketing (Parliament), where there no longer exists a majority for it.

The Government says it has failed to find a satisfactory solution to the thorny problem of disposal of radioactive waste.

Selection of a suitable location for a nuclear power station has also posed an intractable problem. In a small, highly populated country such as Denmark there are simply large areas of land far away from large population centres in which to site an atomic power station.

Nonetheless, the right-wing parties in Parliament are dismayed at the Government decision which to many observers seems tantamount to a final rejection of nuclear power. With no natural resources of its own, Denmark relies on oil for almost 80 per cent of its energy.

Its balance of payments difficulties have been accentuated by the oil imports from the Middle East.

There are, however, a few bright spots on the horizon. Denmark expects that more than one-third of its energy needs will be covered from its North Sea oil and gas fields by the mid-1980s. In addition, electric power stations are being converted rapidly to coal, imported chiefly from Poland, South Africa and Australia, thus reducing Denmark's dependence on oil.

Gas links play: The Norwegian and Danish Prime Ministers and energy ministers will meet next week to discuss an important step forward in distribution of Scandinavian natural gas from North Sea wells, the Sunday edition of the Danish newspaper Aktuelt reported today.

Norway was understood to be ready to link its gas lines with Denmark's, piping the fuel to the Danish coast near Otar Nordli, the Norwegian Prime Minister and Mr Anker Jørgensen, his Danish counterpart, —Agence France-Presse.

## The Pope blames divisions for extending Dutch synod

Rome, Jan 27.—The Pope said today that lingering problems between liberals and conservatives had forced an extension of the special synod of Dutch Roman Catholic bishops at the Vatican.

The Pope's first public remarks about the substance of the two-week secret meeting of Dutch bishops came during his weekly blessing to a crowd in St Peter's Square.

The heartfelt thoughts of the Dutch bishops taking part in the special Vatican synod go out to the Christ who lives in and unites the Church," the Pope said. "The richness of the discussions and the multiplicity of problems requires that the work of the synod be extended into the first days of the coming week."

Even if the Church is humanly, divided, there never ceases to be one body."

The special synod of seven Dutch bishops and 10 Vatican representatives was to have ended yesterday but the Vatican announced its extension on Friday saying that more work was to be done.

A Vatican statement yesterday said the bishops were told it was their duty to promote and supervise religious instruction "in full harmony with the tradition and constitution of the Catholic Church."

It added: "It was underlined that the Dutch catechesis is not without defects."

The defects were apparent in insufficient propagation of the Faith and in "exaggerated preference for one single method."

The statement gave no details. —UPI and Reuters.

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## Teachers in four schools to strike over suspension

By Our Education Correspondent

Members of the National Union of Teachers are to go on strike in four schools in Nottinghamshire from tomorrow in protest against the suspension of a nursery school teacher who refused to supervise her nursery unit of 40 children after losing one of her two full-time nannies.

The four schools which will be affected by strike action tomorrow, on Wednesday and Thursday of this week are: Pinewood Infants' School, Arnold; Brinsley Primary School, Brinsley; Broom Hill Junior School, Hucknall; and

the William Sharp comprehensive school, Nottingham.

NUT members in Robert Mellors Primary School, where Mrs Eileen Crosbie, the suspended teacher, runs her nursery unit, have been instructed by the union to return to work tomorrow. The NUT said it was anxious to avoid any one group of children being penalized for too long.

Results so far from a ballot of the 2,500 NUT members in Nottingham and south Nottinghamshire show a large majority in favour of increasing the campaign in support of Mrs Crosbie, the union said.

## Britain and US seek new air deal

By Arthur Reed  
Air Correspondent

British and United States government negotiators are to begin talks in London tomorrow on their air services agreement to North Atlantic. The Americans are likely to press for further liberalization of routes.

Both sides are expected to want to discuss the opening of further "gateway" cities into the United States.

British Airways has a London-Miami service, but Laker Airways, the independent British company, has applied to the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) in London for a licence to fly between London and Miami, Orlando and Tampa, all in Florida.

British negotiators will also try to secure rights for the United States for British Airways to fly to New Orleans, and for British Caledonian to serve St Louis, Missouri, and Denver, Colorado.

## JPs urged to make less use of imprisonment

By Peter Evans  
Home Affairs Correspondent

Magistrates in Dorset sent more male adult offenders straight to prison in 1978 than did those in any other police area in the country, the Bristol group Radical Alternatives to Prison (RAP), says. Second and third in the "league" were Gloucestershire and Sussex.

"If all the magistrates in the country reduced their use of imprisonment to that of Gwent, 6,000 fewer men would be sent to prison each year, at an estimated minimum saving to the Exchequer of not less than £6m", RAP says.

Magistrates in Dorset, Gloucestershire and Sussex are spendthrift benches, put vengeance above care for the old and the sick."

RAP says prisons are maintained at the direct expense of social services.

Dorset sent more than 12 per cent of adult males to prison during 1978 (the last

year for which statistics are available). Gwent, bottom of the table, sent only 3.56 per cent. The national average is 8.07 per cent.

RAP says: "Local justice is demonstrated to be inconsistent, unfair and unjust."

Analysis of the 1978 figures has disclosed that the presence of a local prison in a police court area is one of the reasons for the large variations, RAP says.

Rates of imprisonment for each area were calculated for the four-year period, 1975-78 inclusive, to test the assumption that high rates of imprisonment deter and are therefore justified.

During that period crimes known to the police in England and Wales increased by 21.64 per cent. The rate of increase in known crime for the top 21 areas in the imprisonment league table was 24.56 per cent over the same period. That for the bottom 22 areas was 20.7 per cent.

## Soldier killed in Belfast ambush by IRA

From Christopher Thomas  
Belfast

IRA gunmen used one of their favourite tactics on Saturday to kill a soldier who was in a foot patrol in west Belfast.

They held a family hostage in a house in the area for more than two hours as they waited for an Army target to present itself. At 10.35 am they fired on a patrol 120 yards away in Whitecross Road. A passing civilian was also injured.

The dead man is Private Errol Pryce, aged 21, of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment. He came from Sheffield.

In Londonderry a march in commemoration of Bloody Sunday, when 13 people were killed by security forces during rioting eight years ago, went off peacefully.

## Hotel plan commended to save historic houses

From Our Correspondent

Chichester, Jan 27.—Lord March and Kinnaird, who has been given planning permission by the Secretary of State for the Environment to build a 60-bedroom hotel in the grounds of Goodwood House, his ancestral home in Sussex, said yesterday that 20 other owners of historic houses in Britain should do the same to save them from closure.

"The minister's decision could be very important for the conservation of the national heritage," he said. "There are another 20 historic houses in Britain which could be saved and maintained if permission

was granted for an hotel to be built close to them in the countryside," Lord March said.

He added: "As far as is known this is the first time in this country that a major planning appeal has been allowed not simply because the minister had not considered its impact on the local environment, but also on the grounds of the need to increase revenue to maintain the national heritage."

Lord March, son and heir of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, has also won his appeal for a 18-hole golf course near the hotel, if certain conditions are met.

## Maltese leader criticizes 'taunt' by British ships

From Our Own Correspondent  
Valletta, Jan 27

Prime Minister, claimed at a public meeting yesterday that two British warships with helicopters flying overhead had entered Maltese territorial waters last month.

Mr Minto described the incident as "showing off and a taunt". In view of this Malta needed to reorganize its defence system. "Had we been armed we would have sunk them," he said. "We are never going to agree with them. We served them well during the last war."

A British High Commission spokesman said the ships conducted a series of exercises within eight miles of Malta during routine exercises. The Maltese Government had been informed and no hostile act was intended.

## Russians win European chess championship

From Harry Golombek  
Chess Correspondent  
Skara, Sweden, Jan 27

With a comfortable win of 5-3 over Yugoslavia in the last round of the European team chess championship finals here, the Soviet Union retained the title by the impressive margin of 7½ pts over its nearest rival.

There was a close struggle for the second place between England and Hungary. In the end, the powerful Hungarian team beat England 5-3.

Individual results of the tournament were: 1. Soviet Union (5½ pts), 2. Yugoslavia (3½ pts), 3. England (3 pts), 4. Hungary (2½ pts), 5. Sweden (2 pts), 6. Poland (1½ pts), 7. Czechoslovakia (1 pt), 8. West Germany (0½ pts), 9. Bulgaria (0 pts), 10. Romania (0 pts).

The Soviet team was the best result ever obtained by an English team in this event and indeed it is the first time a non-East European team has won a title of three of the European championships.

## Charting a course across the Ulster cauldron

By John Chartres

The Ocean Youth Club, the voluntary organization which seeks to improve young people's characters by getting them to sea in small ships, hopes to contribute to better community relations in Northern Ireland.

A ninth vessel is to be added to the club's fleet of large yachts based around the United Kingdom. She is to be permanently based in Northern Ireland.

She is a 12-berth Nicholson 35 yawl, nearing completion in the builders' yard at Gosport and due to go into commission in June under the command of Andrew Brown, of Chester, who, at 21, will be the youngest of the club's full-time skipper. He has been sailing in its vessels as an instructor and mate since he was 15.

The new vessel will take young people aged between 15 and 21 on seven-day and weekend voyages. Under club rules their crews will often be of both sexes and come from all social classes and it is hoped



Mr Andrew Brown, skipper of the yacht for Ulster youth.

ment their own Sir Francis Drake, which is based at Holyhead. A total of 150 young people were taken on voyages in a month.

Mr David James, the club's director, said: "We do not ask any questions about religious backgrounds. Our idea of an ideal crew is one containing young people with educational backgrounds ranging from bursar to Roedeau. We set out to give young people a taste of adventure and to give them the experience of living and working together in circumstances where they have to depend on each other for their comfort and safety."

Although the new vessel, for which a name has yet to be selected, will be primarily for the benefit of young people, it should also take the form of a place for the republic will be given equal consideration.

The Nicholson 55 will cost £110,000, of which about £32,000 has been found. Appeal for the rest is to be launched shortly, mainly in Northern Ireland.

## Law Report January 26 1980

## Private sector steel strike 'would have disastrous effect throughout British industries'

Dunlop Steels Ltd and Others v Sirs and Others

Before Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Lawton and Lord Justice Ackner.

It is strongly arguable that a strike which has the object of coercing the government is not a strike "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute" within the meaning of section 13(1) of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act, 1974, as amended; and where such a proposed strike would have disastrous economic consequences for the country, the court in its discretion has jurisdiction to grant an injunction to restrain it.

The Court of Appeal allowed an appeal by the plaintiffs, Dunlop Steels Ltd and 15 other private sector steel companies, against the refusal of Mr Justice Remond Jones in chambers to grant an injunction restraining the defendants, Mr William Sirs, Mr Leslie Bramley and Mr E. Makepiece, sued on their own behalf and on behalf of all the members of the executive council of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, from instructing members of the confederation to break their contracts of employment with the plaintiffs by striking or interfering with the supply of steel or steel products to or from the plaintiffs or by taking any other industrial action.

Section 13(1) of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act, 1974, as amended by section 3(2) of the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Amendment) Act, 1976, provides: "An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable in tort on the ground only—(a) that it induces another person to break a contract or interferes or induces any other person to interfere with its performance."

Section 17(2) of the 1974 Act, as amended by the Employment Protection Act, 1975, section 125 (1), Schedule 16, Part III paragraph 6, and the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Amendment) Act, 1976, section 3(2) provides: "(2) It is hereby declared that an application is made to a court, pending the trial of an action, for an interlocutory injunction and the party against whom the injunction is sought claims that he acted in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, the court shall, in exercising its discretion whether or not to grant the injunction, have regard to the likelihood of that party succeeding at the trial of the action in establishing the matter or matters which would, under any provision of section 13, 14(2) or 15 above, afford a defence to the action."

Section 29 provides: "(1) In the Act 'trade dispute' means a dispute between employers and workers, or between workers and workers, which is connected with one or more of the following:—(a) terms and conditions of employment, or the physical conditions in which any workers are required to work;—(b) Mr Alexander Irvine, QC, and Mr Christopher Carr for the plaintiffs; Mr Leslie Bramley, QC, and Mr John Brady for the defendants; Mr Peter Scott, QC, and Mr Bruce Cotes for Steelness Steel Co Ltd.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS said that it was important to distinguish between the public sector and the private sector of the steel industry. The public sector accounted for 40 to 50 per cent of production, the private sector for nearly 20 per cent of production and about 25 per cent of processing products, the annual turnover being £1,500m.

As the beginning of this year a dispute arose between the British Steel Corporation and the workers, who through their union demanded higher wages. As they could not get what they wanted, the union decided to call a strike. On January 15 the union took the important decision to call out the workers in the private sector. The union had no dispute with the public sector employers: all was peaceful. Ballots had shown that the majority of the men wanted to carry on working. Nevertheless they were ordered to strike; and if there was no court order they would have to strike or lose their jobs and perhaps their employment.

January 27 at 6 am, was fired by the union executive on January 15 for the beginning of the strike in the private sector; and all steel movements in and out of the United Kingdom were also to cease at that time.

Why did the trade union decide to extend the strike to the private sector? It was actually shown by letters written by Mr Sirs and instructions given to union branches that the union had decided that one way or another their ends was to bring pressure to bear on the government by BSC had no money, and that the government had declined to give any more money—or to print more—to increase the wages of the workers. Section 4 of the Iron and Steel Act, 1975, dealt with the general powers of the Secretary of State in relation to the British Steel Corporation.

On January 17 Mr Sirs wrote to the Independent Steel Employers Association saying: "Whilst agreeing that there is no dispute with any independent steel employer, the executive council were firmly of the opinion that this dispute is becoming politically managed by the Conservative government and that with not being made an offer of any new money, that we are

being singled out for a direct government and British Steel Corporation attack. It is because of the political intervention that our executive council feel that we should now take the action of involving the private sector in the public battle against the government."

His Lordship said that the union knew that they were going against all the industrial agreements that they had made because Mr Sirs continued: "I recognise the fact that our procedure agreements do exist and we do not have a dispute with you nevertheless these points have been made to our executive who have ultimately taken this decision."

On January 21 Mr Sirs stated in a letter to branch secretaries that after the executive had considered a progress report: "It was apparent that the strike was developing into a confrontation between the government and the trade union."

There was evidence that a strike in the private sector would have disastrous effects on the economy as a whole. It was argued that the strike would have a disastrous effect on the economy as a whole. It was argued that the strike would have a disastrous effect on the economy as a whole.

It was not surprising that 16 companies had brought the dispute to the Independent Steel Employers Association saying: "Whilst agreeing that there is no dispute with any independent steel employer, the executive council were firmly of the opinion that this dispute is becoming politically managed by the Conservative government and that with not being made an offer of any new money, that we are

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jective and that if the trade union leaders honestly believed that they were acting in furtherance of a trade dispute they would have no legal basis for their legal action and the courts could do nothing. Their Lordships had gone through the judgments in the case and they were not nearly so clear as some would believe.

By section 29 of the 1974 Act a "trade dispute" means "a dispute between employers and workers". There was certainly a "trade dispute" between BSC and its workers.

Was that the only dispute? On the evidence there was arguable ground for thinking that there was a second dispute, not between workers and employers in the private sector, but between the union and the government in which the union was putting pressure on the government—to bring them to heel—so that they would increase the wages of the workers.

There was no immunity in respect of it. The second dispute could not be regarded as a trade dispute. It was said that it was connected with the first dispute because it concerned the same matters—wages and conditions of employment. But it was arguable that those further acts were done with a view to drawing the government into a trade



## OVERSEAS

## President Tito hears report on steps taken by Yugoslav forces to test their readiness

From Desha Trevisan

Belgrade, Jan 27.—As President Tito continues to make spectacular recovery, already seeing his aides and attending to business from his hospital ward—last week's anxiety gave way to relief. Yugoslavians gained confidence in safeguarding itself by demonstrating political unity and military preparedness.

Today President Tito saw General Nikola Ljubicic, the Minister of Defence. A brief communiqué said he was informed of the measures the Yugoslav armed forces had taken to test their readiness in the face of world tension, and in particular the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

A combined military exercise was carried out over the weekend by the Belgrade Garrison. The chief of staff of the Yugoslav armed forces disclosed that fairly large foreign military exercises "close to Yugoslav borders" had aroused Yugoslav suspicions, prompting demonstrations that Yugoslavia would not be caught unprepared.

He did not specify the country or countries concerned, but recently there were reports of exercises in Hungary and in Bulgaria. He said that whereas the Yugoslavs always made a point of informing their neighbours of their own exercises this was not done by the neighbours in this particular case.

Yugoslavians are, however, at pains to emphasize that the

military measures are normal, routine reaction to the general world tension. But they obviously had a special meaning, particularly as some sources claim that the measures had been deliberately delayed in the expectation of some clarification by countries concerned.

The invasion of Afghanistan has already provoked firm Yugoslav reactions. A senior official said the Soviet Union's credibility was seriously damaged. It has confirmed the Yugoslavs in the belief that Russia has never really given up hope of tying Yugoslavia to its bloc. The message has been driven home that this is still the case.

The anniversary of the death of Mr. Edvard Kardelj, architect of the Yugoslav political system who died last year and whose memoirs were published yesterday, provided the opportunity for emphasizing this awareness.

A senior Yugoslav official speaking at the ceremony, condemned the continuing practice of "forcing socialism upon other peoples" through "fraternal aid" or by military intervention such as "we are now witnessing in Afghanistan".

His memoirs Mr. Kardelj, whom the Russians never trusted, recalled that in spite of formal agreements and the Russians' pledges to respect

Yugoslavia's independence, he was convinced that they never gave up hope of drawing the country into the Soviet block. He described the pressure to which the Russians had subjected Yugoslavia on several occasions from 1948 onwards, under Stalin, and then under Khrushchev.

Another senior Yugoslav official, Dr. Vladimir Bakarić, recalling a visit to Moscow in 1949, on the eve of the break in relations between the two countries, quoted Marshal Tito as saying: "The Russians will bully you if you let them."

Yugoslavia is facing a grave economic situation as a result of the overvalued economy and the world energy crisis. Inflation is up to 30 per cent, unemployment to 15 per cent of the total labour force, the balance of payments deficit has risen to close on \$6.5m (about £3m) and the country's debt to foreign banks total \$13m.

The Yugoslavs assert that the EEC's failure to give better opportunities to Yugoslavia has inflicted serious damage on the country. As a result over 50 per cent of Yugoslav trade is now with the Comecon (eastern block) countries.

This is something the Yugoslavs have for years been anxious to avoid, but they say they had no choice because the EEC negotiations kept dragging on. The Russians could use economic pressure to hurt Yugoslavia.

## Police play down bank terrorists' tie to ANC

From Eric Marsden

Cape Town, Jan 27.—The bodies of the three terrorists shot by police after they had held 25 hostages for six hours in a Pretoria bank have been identified, but police refuse to name them except to say that two were from the Pretoria district and one from Soweto, the Johannesburg black township. They had all been on the police wanted list for some time.

The Government has also decided to withhold details of the political demands made by the gang, apparently to deny publicity to the band African National Congress (ANC), to which the raiders said they belonged.

Senior police officers who talked to the terrorists have denied that the men asked them for the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who is in jail on Robben Island near Cape Town.

Some of the hostages had been asked to make a statement to them, and that the gang also wanted an aircraft to fly them to Maputo.

Brigadier Johan Coetzee, chief of the police security branch, who went into the bank to talk to the gang, left there a tiny transmitter which enabled police to monitor conversations between the three men later. This and another device dropped down an air shaft alerted the police to the gang's decision to start shooting. The hostages, police said, A special unit then stormed the bank.

The three raiders were killed outright but one of them first shot dead Miss Cindy Anderson, aged 31, a bank teller. The other two, Mrs. A. de Klerk, who was also a bank employee, died in hospital on Saturday morning. Two other women and a police constable were still in a critical condition today in a Pretoria hospital.

Suggestions that the attack in which hostages were taken for the first time in South Africa, marks an escalation of the terrorist campaign are discounted here. Mr. Louis Le Grange, Minister of Police described the attack as "a very serious incident, though he said it could happen again. "I have no reason to believe this type of thing will happen frequently."

He said the terrorists had almost certainly come from Angola where most ANC terrorists were being trained for attacks on South Africa.

Leaders of the two main opposition parties, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and New Republic Party, joined the Government in congratulating the police on ending the siege, but the PFP said the Government's political terrorism must be combined with faster political change.

More operations: The ANC said in Lusaka today that its men would stage more operations like the bank seizure in Pretoria and in future would kill all their hostages if police intervened.

"The episode has shown us just how ruthless the police are prepared to be. We will have to match their ruthlessness regardless of the consequences," a spokesman said.

He said the ANC saluted the three men "for dying for such a noble cause. They will be buried in the full knowledge that others will continue the struggle."—Agence France-Press.

## Troops kill 17 guerrillas in El Salvador

San Salvador, Jan 27.—Seventeen guerrillas were killed today in a clash with members of El Salvador's Army at Guatepec, 33 miles west of here.

Three soldiers were wounded in the fighting, which broke out when police and soldiers arrested newly intervened guerrillas, members of the Marxist Popular Liberation Forces movement, occupied the town, erecting barricades at access points. Authorities who regained control of the town after the guerrillas fled, seized arms and munitions.

In a night of violence a bomb destroyed the headquarters of El Salvador's Girl Guide movement here and bombs exploded at other sites in the town. The guerrillas denied rumours that their premises had been used for political meetings. More than 70 people have been killed in political violence in El Salvador during the past week.—Agence France-Press.

## Greeks seek reintegration in Nato

From Mario Modiano

Athens, Jan 27.—Urgent Greek defence problems resulting from new tensions between East and West, especially in conjunction with possible developments in the Balkans, were reviewed at a high-level meeting held in Athens over the weekend under the chairmanship of Mr. Constantine Karamanlis, the Prime Minister.

The meeting, the second such consultation in 10 days, was attended by Mr. Evangelos Averoff, the Defence Minister, Mr. George Rallis, the Foreign Minister, General Ioannis Damos, the newly-appointed Defence Under-Secretary, and General Agamemnon Gratsios, who succeeded General Davos as Chief of the National Defence General Staff.

No details were released of what was discussed but it is evident that the world crisis emanating from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and President Tito's sudden illness, have been posing problems for Greece's defence, adding urgency to the need for an end to the present ambiguity in the country's military links with Nato.

Western efforts to overcome Turkey's objections to an unconditional return of Greece to the integrated military structure of the alliance, chiefly as regards operational jurisdiction in the Aegean, have apparently been unsuccessful so far, although General Bernard Rogers, Nato's Supreme Commander in Europe, is persevering in his quest for a reintegration formula that is acceptable also to Turkey.

President Tito too, is known to be eager to see Greece once again firmly anchored in Nato, both as a deterrent to a Soviet adventure in the Balkans, directly or by proxy, and as a Western lifeline for Yugoslavia in case of war.

In recent years, Greek and Yugoslav defence ministers and military chiefs established frequent contact.

## Promotions within China's leadership expected

Peking, Jan 27.—A pattern of changes in the top echelons of the Chinese civil and military authorities, diplomats suggest, could herald promotions in the central Government.

This would be in line with reports on a speech made by Mr. Deng Xiaoping, the senior Deputy Prime Minister, on January 16.

Chinese sources said that Mr. Deng had spoken of the need to promote experienced staff and for a change in style to encourage leadership by example rather than decree.

Changes are also appearing in the central ministries. Western diplomatic sources report the appointment of Mr. Gao Yangwen, a former Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, as Minister for Coal. His predecessor, Mr. Xiao Han, was, according to the sources, promoted to the post of Deputy Minister in the State Economic Commission.

At the provincial level, Sichuan province and the city of Shanghai both have new Communist Party second secretaries, which could release the leaders' posts in Peking.

The new party second secretary in Sichuan, China's most populous province, was named in a Chinese press report as Mr. Tan Qiong, former first secretary in Qinghai province, who is credited by diplomatic sources as one of the most experienced provincial administrators.

A report in the Shanghai newspaper *Wenhui* said a new secretary of the Communist Party Committee, Mr. Chen Guodong, had been chair-

man at a meeting on Friday to discuss the ties between civil and military authorities in Shanghai.

A radio broadcast from Anhui has also reported that the new provincial governor is Mr. Zhang Jingfu, a former Finance Minister and at present a member of the State Finance and Economic Commission. The party first secretary in Anhui is Mr. Zhao Ziyang and Mr. Wan Li respectively. The party first secretary and mayor of Shanghai is Mr. Peng Cheng.

There have been suggestions that all three could be promoted to posts of deputy prime ministers in the central Government. This would explain the moves of senior staff to their areas.

Taishan, a deputy minister of the Peking military region and former commander of the Inner Mongolia military district, has filled the vacant post of commander of the Chengdu military region, which takes in Sichuan and Yunnan.

In the province of Guangdong, two local Communist Party officials, Mr. Liu Keku, secretary of a production brigade, and Mr. Liu Tugui, a deputy, were at a recent public trial sentenced to death for killing seven people who criticized their illegal activities during the cultural revolution according to the *Sinat* daily newspaper.

A woman was sentenced to one year for removing birth control devices for pay from more than 29 women.—Reuters and AP.

## Critical paper closed in Nicaragua

Managua, Jan 27.—The revolutionary Government of Nicaragua has shut down the newspaper *El Pueblo* and arrested its editors, who were accused of being counter-revolutionaries and sabotaging plans to stimulate the economy.

Commandant Daniel Ortega, a member of the ruling council, said in an announcement yesterday that the newspaper was occupied by the military three days ago and that the origin of its machinery would be investigated. In its last editions *El Pueblo* criticized the Government's plan to give "great opportunities to the bourgeoisie and the businessmen and few benefits to the exploited masses".

It also criticized the presence of the bourgeoisie in the Government and urged the workers to seize power. Commandant Ortega said the paper's editors would be tried by tribunals.—AP.

## US asks Japan for details of Soviet spy scandal

Tokyo, Jan 27.—The United States has asked Japan for a detailed report on the leak of military secrets in a Soviet spy case in its Defence Agency, government sources said today.

They said the secrets passed to the Soviet Union by a retired army general and two officers on active service included information provided by the United States under the United States-Japan security treaty, as well as information collected by Japanese intelligence. The sources believed that military intelligence on China was involved.

General Shigen Nagano, Chief of Staff of the Ground Self-Defence Force, will hand in his resignation tomorrow to take the blame for the spy scandal.

Sources in the Defence Agency said he would be replaced by General Toshimichi Suzuki, commander of the force's central district division. Disciplinary action would be

taken against about a dozen senior officers including General Nagano and General Akira Watari, the deputy director of the Defence Agency, who would be ordered to take a 10 per cent cut in their pay.

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## The Catholic controversy

## Parallels with the Sakharov case

Tübingen.—Professor Hans Küng accuses the Roman Catholic Church of trying to solve the problem he poses in much the same way as the Soviet Union deals with its dissidents.

His own case, says the recently-banned Swiss theologian, is a striking parallel to that of Mr. Andrei Sakharov, the leading Soviet dissident.

He and Mr. Sakharov, his reasoning goes, are loyal members of their communities, one of the Church, the other of the Soviet Union. Both see that their respective systems function badly and both believe they must be made more democratic in order to survive.

"Since the Soviet dogmas do not permit discussion they transported him to another city. The Church wants to silence me."

But the ban on his teaching theology does not solve the problem of the Church, he says.

From the book-lined modern study with its view over the snow-dusted Swabian hills, Professor Küng is determined to carry on his fight to change the methods and structures of the Church's government in the far-off stately palaces of the Vatican.

He is equally determined to fight the attempt to have him removed from the theological faculty at Tübingen University.

He has deliberately chosen a difficult and thorny path which he could easily have avoided. For Professor Küng is in no danger of being dismissed from Tübingen.

He could go on teaching as he liked in another faculty, for instance philosophy, although his students' examinations would not be recognized by the Church. Or he could have what he describes as "a wonderful life" as a research fellow without having to lecture "or bother about the Roman Curia".

But, he says, if he did not fight "I would really not be loyal to the community of believers and a lot of people would think I had betrayed them."

Professor Küng's refusal to go has raised extremely difficult legal problems. Tübingen University is run by the Land



Professor Hans Küng.

of Baden-Württemberg and professors are appointed by the Minister of Education with the approval of the local bishop. What happens if, as in this case, the bishop asks for him to be removed?

His removal would be fairly simple under the pre-war concordat between the former state of Baden and the Vatican. But this was never formally extended to Württemberg, where Tübingen lies, when the two states became a federal Land after the 1933-1945 war.

Württemberg would appear to be governed by the 1933 Reich Concordat between Hitler and Pope Pius XI, which is vague on this point.

If Professor Küng's appeal to the Land Education Minister, yields to the bishop's wishes, Professor Küng will appeal indicating a list of legal irregularities he says the Vatican itself has committed. The

fight would be long and extremely complicated.

Hans Küng says he has always been willing to go and have a serious discussion of his views. But he is not prepared to submit himself to an "inquisition" which denies the right of the accused to know details of the charges against him, where he is not able to nominate his own defence, where the accused is at the same time the judge of the case and where there is no right of appeal.

"A common criminal has more rights than a Catholic theologian," he says. "How can the Church ask for human rights in the world when there are not the most elementary human rights in the Church?"

The Vatican ban has left deep resentments between Professor Küng and the West German bishops who believe they have done everything humanly possible to avoid a break and seek some form of compromise, even at the cost of dragging the painful business out for 10 years. They maintain they have wronged considerable concessions from the Vatican on his behalf.

The professor is unyielding, but concedes that he was helped by the Cardinal Julius Döpfner, former president of the episcopal conference, but maintains that his successor, Cardinal Josef Höffner, may bear more responsibility for the ban than Rome itself. "If he had said it would be a disgrace for the Church in Germany, I think the Pope would not have done it," he said.

The bishop's spokesman gives the impression that the real cause of the break is the obstinate, not to say arrogant nature of the troublesome theologian.

In the cold light of a winter's afternoon in Tübingen these traits look more like uncompromising honesty. Swiss straightforwardness and a passionate belief that he is right. Other Catholic theologians have suffered the same fate and the world has hardly noticed. Maybe these qualities, combined with an ability to put difficult issues in simple terms and an inborn flair for public relations, are the stuff that good dissidents are made of.

Patricia Clough

## Why I remain a Catholic

After an unjust and unfair procedure on the part of the highest ecclesiastical authorities, I was deprived of the title of "Catholic theologian"; an attempt was made to drive me out of my faculty of Catholic theology after 20 years of teaching there and to thrust me—without being over-scrupulous about methods—into the margin of my Catholic community.

Very shortly after I had completed 25 years as a priest and celebrated my jubilee. In face of harassment and threats, it is possible to offer declarations of loyalty or to make professions of faith?

Under these circumstances, why do I remain a Catholic? This is certainly not merely a personal question for myself. Innumerable Catholics in the whole world must be wondering if the wheel of history is to be turned back in our Catholic Church to the time before Pope John and the council.

Are the new open-mindedness, readiness for dialogue, humaneness and Christian spirit again to yield to the triumphalism disavowed by the council? Are Roman authorities again to abolish the freedom of theology, to intimidate critical theologians and to be allowed to discipline them by the use of spiritual power? Are bishops to be merely recipients of orders and to be obliged to carry out the Roman policy? And despite fine ecumenical words and gestures, is the ecclesiastical institution with its unecumenical attitudes and deeds to become once more an unfriendly, inhospitable, unfruitful "fortress" (Cardinal Ottaviani's term) in this modern society of ours?

One thing must be made clear from the beginning. It is not any liking for theoretical problems which makes me raise this question, but the necessity of defence. For the doubts about my catholicity are not mine, they are raised by certain authorities and hierarchs.

I have continually spoken out for a genuine pastoral primacy in the sense of spiritual responsibility, internal leadership and active concern for the welfare of the Church as a whole. It would of course be a primacy, not of dominion, but of unselfish service, exercised in responsibility before the Lord of the Church and lived in unpretentious brotherliness.

It would be a primacy, not in the spirit of a Roman imperialism with religious trimmings, such as I came to know quite closely under Pope XII during my seven years of study in Rome; but a primacy in the spirit of Jesus Christ, as it was illustrated for me in the figures of Gregory the Great and Pope John.

These were popes who expected, not servile submissiveness, uncritical devotion, sentimental idolization but loyal collaboration, constructive criticism and constant prayer on their behalf, collaborators of our joy, not masters of our faith, to adopt a saying of the apostle.

But above all there was Tübingen: Protestant Tübingen with its Catholic faculty. Here as professor I have increased

everything that has been officially taught, ordered and observed in the course of twenty centuries?

Surely what is meant cannot be such a totalitarian conception of truth. For, even on the part of the institutional Church, it is now scarcely disputed that a veritable and even theologically "justified" errors have occurred in the history of Catholic teaching and practice and have been corrected (mostly tacitly) up to a point even by the popes.

This list is immense and includes the excommunication of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and of the Greek Church, prohibition of a vernacular liturgy, condemnation of Galileo and the modern scientific world-picture, condemnation of Chinese and Indian forms of divine worship and names of God, the maintenance of the medieval secular power of the Pope up to the First Vatican Council, condemnation of human rights and particularly freedom of conscience and religion.

Finally in the 20th century the numerous condemnations of modern historical-critical exegesis (with reference to the authenticity of the books of the Bible, source criticism, historicity and literary genre) and condemnations in the dogmatic field, especially in connection with "modernism" (theory of evolution, understanding of development of dogma) and in very recent times Pius XII's cleaning up measures (likewise dogmatically justified) leading to the dismissal of the most outstanding theologians of the preceding period, such as Chenou, Congar, de Lubac, Teilhard de Chardin, who almost all became council theologians under Pope John.

Not everything that has been officially taught and practised in the Catholic Church is truly Catholic. Is it not true that Catholicism would harden into "Catholicism" if that which has "become the Catholic reality" (the words are those of Joseph Ratzinger) is simply accepted instead of being submitted to a criterion? All this means that to be "Catholic" does not imply—for the sake of a supposed "fullness", "integrity", "completeness", "uncontaminatedness"—a false humility obediently accepting everything, putting up with everything. That would be the complete opposite of the true pooling of contradictions, a confusion of true and false.

Certainly, Protestantism has often been reproached for accepting too little, for making a one-sided selection from the whole. But on the other hand it is often impossible to avoid reproaching Catholicism for accepting too much. Which is worse: a sin by defect or a sin by excess?

In any case then Catholicism must be critically understood: critically, according to the gospel. Reforms—in practice and teaching—must remain possible. For the theologian this means nothing other than the fact that the Catholic theologian in the genuine sense must be evangelically oriented and conversely that the evangelical theologian in the genuine sense must be oriented in a Catholic way.

Admittedly, this makes the theological discussion objectively and conceptually more complicated than they might seem to be in the light of official doctrinal documents which are often terribly simple

ingly become a part of this faculty, which from its foundation has had a great history, not only of success, but also of conflict. How many Catholic theologians in Tübingen, including some who are still alive and teaching, have been admonished, put on the Index, harassed and disciplined? There is nothing new under the sun.

It was from this Catholic faculty of Tübingen, in the free air of Tübingen, that both my books and those of my colleagues emerged and without which they would scarcely have been possible or at any rate only in another form. It was possible for a Catholic theology to emerge here, which—unlike the former controversial theology—has a truly ecumenical character and seeks to combine two things: loyalty to the Catholic heritage and openness to Christendom.

Discussion, particularly with Protestant colleagues, was of decisive importance, not in order to disparage the Catholic reality, still less to squelch it, but in an ecumenical spirit to throw light on the truth from the gospel and to gain a deeper understanding of it.

Why do I remain a Catholic? Not merely because of my Catholic origins, but also because of this life-task of mine which I grasped as a great opportunity and which as a Catholic theologian I can fulfil appropriately only in the context of the Tübingen faculty of Catholic theology. What then, properly speaking, is the Catholic reality for the sake of which I want to remain a Catholic theologian?

and display little Catholic depth and breadth. Why then do I remain a Catholic? Precisely because as such I can assert an "evangelical Catholicity" concentrated and organized in the light of the gospel. Being Catholic, then, means being ecumenical in the fullest sense.

But what is the Roman factor? "Roman Catholicism" is a late and mistaken neologism. Once again, I have nothing against Rome. I mean that, precisely because I want to be a Catholic theologian, I cannot tie my Catholic faith and Catholic theology simply to the ingrown Roman scholastic claims from the middle ages and later times.

I have always acknowledged and defended a pastoral primacy of the Bishops of Rome linked to Peter and the great Roman tradition as an element in Catholic tradition that is supported by the gospel.

But Roman legalism, centralism and triumphalism, in teaching, morality and Church discipline, dominant especially from the 11th century onwards, have been pared long before then, are supported neither by the ancient Catholic tradition nor—still less—by the gospel itself; they were also disavowed by the Second Vatican Council.

On the contrary, these things were mainly responsible for the schism with the East and with the Reformation Churches.

Are there some of our cardinals and bishops who do not want to see that in individual points of theory and practice Catholic thinking is more Roman than Catholic? Perhaps my Protestant colleagues, Walter von Löwenherz, authority on both Luther and modern Catholicism, has rightly seen this in the infallibility debate, when he writes: "The essential question in the Küng case is not whether the Pope is infallible or not, but whether he is a Catholic or not." It should be: Will Catholicism struggle out of its dogmatic construction into genuine Catholicity?

Catholicity then is gift and task, indicative and imperative, origin and future. It is with this tension that I want to continue the pursuit of theology and as decisively as hitherto to make the message of Jesus Christ intelligible to people of the present time, while being ready to learn and to be corrected whenever it is a question of discussion between equal partners in a fraternal spirit.

I must insist, against all the repeated assertions to the contrary by the German bishops, that I have never refused such a discussion even in regard to the Roman authorities and that I have frequently had this kind of discussion both with representatives of the German Bishops' Conference and with the local bishop. But, for the sake of protecting human and Christian rights and for the sake of the freedom of theological science, I have had to resist throughout all the years an interrogation of the Inquisition according to rights to itself and practically none to the accused person. That much I owe to those also who have suffered—and, as it seems, will suffer in the future, Catholic Church, Yes! Roman Inquisition, No!

The author is Professor of Dogmatic and Ecumenical Theology in the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Tübingen.

Hans Küng



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Eric Heffer

# Why it is wrong to send our man to Chile

Last week, representatives of Labour's International Committee met the Soviet ambassador to protest on Labour's behalf at the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. We urged the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from that unfortunate country. Within 24 hours of our approach, Dr Andrei Sekharov, the world-renowned Soviet scientist and fighter for human rights, had been arrested and banished from Moscow.

The attitude of the Soviet Government is totally cynical and unforgivable. It is clear that the Soviet leaders have no regard for world public opinion and no real understanding of the meaning of democratic rights.

What is even more worrying is that they do not appear to understand that their actions are increasing tension between East and West and that the cold war now being created could accelerate into a hot war with the whole of mankind in the camp of the vanquished.

I refer to Labour's protest at Moscow's action because it is important to oppose repression from whatever source it comes. After all, oppression is oppression, and "left-wing" oppression is no better than "right-wing" oppression. That is why the British Government's decision to send an ambassador back to Chile is so deplorable.

The regime of General Pinochet. President of Chile, is anxious to become acceptable to the world community. They have spent a great deal of money trying to create a good image of themselves, to denigrate their opponents and to minimize by propaganda the true nature of their vicious regime. Their efforts to explain themselves over the torture of Dr Sheila Cassidy were pitiful and such whitewashing ought not to have been accepted by the Government.

In the case of Chile, once the ambassador had been withdrawn, he should not have been reinstated until democracy had been genuinely re-established in that country. It is all very well saying, as Mr Nicholas Ridley did at the Catholic Institute for International Relations last Tuesday, that sending the ambassador back in no way condones the Pinochet regime's record on human rights. That is not the way Pinochet will interpret it inside Chile or in Latin America and at the United Nations.

In November of last year, the Special Rapporteur, appointed in March 1979 by resolution of the Commission of Human Rights, presented a report to the 34th session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Rapporteur's terms of reference were to enquire into the situation of human

rights in Chile. That report alone should have been sufficient for Britain to have maintained its position of no recognition to the Pinochet regime.

In paragraph 366 it says, "In its last report... the Ad Hoc Working Group reported... that the situation of human rights in Chile had improved from that existing in the years immediately following the seizure of power by the Military Junta in September 1973... it is not possible to confirm that improvement... in certain respects the situation... has deteriorated from that described in the above mentioned report. In the light of recent developments, the Special Rapporteur recommends that the General Assembly should continue to exercise vigilance with regard to the situation of human rights in Chile with a view to ensuring that the standards and guidelines adopted by the international community are respected in that country."

The report further says that a so-called "anti-terrorist" law attacks freedom of association and expression; that the security forces have enhanced their powers and cases of torture and ill-treatment of people arrested has increased; that right-wing terrorist organizations operate freely; and that new decree laws on labour per-

mamently restrict freedom of association, the right to strike and the right to collective bargaining. The state of "Emergency" continues.

The judiciary cannot freely exercise justice and in 1979 large-scale detention arising out of peaceful demonstrations has extended over many days, whereas in 1978, it lasted only a few hours. The junta allows only those who share its views to participate in constitutional talks.

There is no real freedom of expression for the media and the low-paid and the unemployed are finding it increasingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to get education for their children. University research continues to be reduced. Unemployment is rising and wages are lower than ever. The largest price rises have been those of basic necessities and as a result the poor have suffered most. The health service, which had been built up under successive Chilean governments, is severely curtailed and last, but by no means least, the junta has still given no answer on the fate of prisoners who have disappeared.

After the report last December at the United Nations, 93 countries supported a resolution expressing indignation "at the continuing violation of human rights" in Chile.



General Pinochet: a good image?

What is also worth noting is that the economic solutions of Professor Milton Friedman which have been tried in Chile have proved to be an unmitigated disaster. Unemployment is running at 15 per cent, with economic "freedom" existing alongside political repression.

The British Government's action is all the more deplorable in view of the United Nations' report and resolution. It is also disgraceful that the Government has made it more difficult for political refugees from the Latin American countries to seek refuge in Britain. For the past five years, Latin Americans fleeing persecution have been able to find safety here. Altogether, 3,000 of them have been saved from jail and torture. Yet in October last year, Mr Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, announced that he was closing the visa programme.

This has meant that Britain has virtually slammed the door in the refugees' faces, and now stands alone among its EEC partners, the United States and Canada, in denying Latin Americans the chance of escape from repressive regimes.

To conclude with a plea to Mrs Thatcher and the Government. Stop having double standards on human rights. If it is correct to condemn Soviet repression, and it is, it is also important not to give respectability to the repression in Chile because a reborn, will, if they were a hearing, have to raise their voices. What has the rump of the "fifty-niners" to look forward to? Membership of the Council of Europe, la politique gastronomique, service on the newly-formed select committees, and for some a handle to their name. But for others there remains the "great game" which will be played for all it is worth.

The author is Conservative MP for Aldershot, and chairman of the party's media committee.

## A damning indictment of Labour

R. H. Tawney observed in 1934 that "the degeneration of Socialist parties on assuming office is now an old story". His modern day disciples at the Fabian Society demonstrate today that a new chapter of that old story was written by the 1974-79 Labour Government.

In a new book, *Labour and Equality: A Fabian Study of Labour in Power, 1974-79*, edited by Nick Bosanquet and Peter Townsend, the Wilson and Callaghan Administrations are charged not merely with rearing up a manifesto within months of taking office. Perhaps the most damning indictment in its performance is that the Labour Government abandoned its party's traditional concern with equality.

The authors of the 16 chapters differ in their analysis of what went wrong, notably in their reaction to the role of public spending in an era of cuts. But the collective view emerges that the last Labour government lacked the ideal before the oil crisis began, and well before its capacity to carry controversial measures through Parliament was effectively halted by the destruction of its majority.

Thus, a Labour Government committed to bringing about "a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people and their families" to "eliminate poverty wherever it exists" found itself within months of taking office had set in train economic policies which led to average cuts in the standard of living of 7 per cent between 1974 and 1977.

The Labour government set in train economic policies that led to average cuts of 7 per cent in the standard of living... cuts for families were greater.

Labour government, acknowledges that some of the measures taken were successful. In particular, existing pensioners were helped to ride the crisis, and a dramatic increase in the real value of their pensions during the 1974-79 period, while the hope of better incomes for future pensioners was boosted by the fundamental reform of the Social Security Pensions Act 1975. And, while child benefits have not yet risen to the level where they would make a real improvement to family incomes, the structure was finally established to make that possible.

But the shadow lying over the achievements was the lack of clear direction or philosophy. Mr Nick Bosanquet accuses the Labour government of losing its belief in public spending and contributing to the crisis of public opinion over the value of health and social services, education and housing or social security.

He accepts that the government most probably had little choice but to slow the growth in public spending in 1975-76, but argues that was no reason to turn what began as a short-term economic adjustment under duress into a longer term social philosophy. Indeed, he argues, there are compelling reasons to let some forms of public spending grow at least as fast as national output, while others should grow more quickly simply to maintain existing standards.

Instead, the government went out of office committed to a growth rate for the health service below that for defence which, in Labour terms, seemed hardly feasible and certainly undesirable.

"The government seemed to lack any belief in the positive role of the core public sector," Mr Bosanquet says. "In this sense it has to be judged as being far too pessimistic and defeatist."

One of the lessons drawn by several of the authors is that there must be a greater integration of economic and social policies if the Labour aim of greater equality and social justice is ever to be achieved. But attempts during the life of the Labour government to achieve this failed dismally.

The joint approach to social policy, which was intended to allow ministers from different departments to consider together the impact of individual policies on other areas of government before deciding which should have priority, hardly developed and has now been formally abandoned. The social contract floundered and planning in public expenditure was sacrificed to the perceived needs of the balance of payments crisis.

Mr R. Sidelisky said of the 1923-31 Labour government: "It struggled to defend the working class as long as it knew how, and when it could defend them no longer it resigned." Far from resigning, the 1974-79 Labour government deliberately chose a strategy in which some groups were protected at the expense of others.

Heinemann Educational Books, £4.50.

Pat Healy  
Social Services Correspondent

## Julian Critchley takes a nostalgic look at the Conservative survivors of the 'Supernac' era



Harold Macmillan and his "fifty-niners": Margaret Thatcher, James Prior, Neil Marten, and two who were lost—Humphry Berkeley and Christopher Chataway.

Today the 27 survivors of the October, 1959, intake of Conservative MPs, elected on Mr Harold Macmillan's coat-tails, are giving a dinner for the Prime Minister, who was herself elected in that year. Greying men in middle-life will struggle into their dinner jackets and make for Dining Room B in the Commons in order to reminisce about the routs and rallies of political life and match their expanding wattle against their diminished hopes. Who were the "fifty-niners", and how has the party changed in the last 20 years?

Seventy-one Conservatives were first elected in October, 1959, the election which marked the high tide of the fortunes of the post-war Conservatives. They were once described somewhat characteristically by Mr R. A. Butler as "the poorest intake in my

## Dining out with the Class of 59

experience", an opinion to which no one at the dinner is likely to be so tactless as to refer. Was it so bad? Out of the 70, we can claim a prime minister, a cabinet minister, Mr James Prior, and the Solicitor General. Messrs Nicholas Ridley and Neil Marten are ministers of state. Mr Johnson Smith, Sir Anthony Royle, Mr Emery and Mr Van Straubenzee have all tasted office, while Sir Timothy Kitson carried Mr Edward Heath's bags, a task undertaken for a time remarkable as that of a Conservative. There are also some knights, if not of the shires, then of the suburbs. Two of the 1959 intake's "stars" have been lost to politics: Mr Humphry Berkeley, who can lay claim to have

been the most influential Tory backbencher since the war, lost patience with the party and became a socialist; and Mr Christopher Chataway who, like Mrs Thatcher, was given junior office by Mr Harold Macmillan, quit politics for merchant banking in 1974. How comfortable he would be in today's Tory party is a matter of conjecture, but it is likely that he would have been in the Cabinet.

In 1959, Mr Harold Macmillan was at the apogee of his career. "Supernac" dominated politics, and his hold upon Conservatives was unchallenged. He led the party from the customary position of inside left. In 1980, Mrs Thatcher has yet to match performance with promise, and

kicks with her right foot. On the backbenches in the early sixties the moderates sought change, and the party's ballast, continuity; in the eighties the ballast seeks change and the moderates, continuity. In 1963 Mr Harold Macmillan resigned when ill and was replaced by Lord Home, who was the typical backbencher of the day, writ large.

In 1975, Mrs Thatcher's victory over Mr Heath owed much to a similar avatism. However much the party may change, loyalty has never been its secret weapon: it is a commodity which, like any other, remains in short supply. Will the party be any easier to lead from the right? In 1959, the Tory backbenches clearly preferred Burke's

Peerage to Burke's Reflections, and some at least of the newly-elected sat uncomfortably upon its benches. In 1980, the Tory Party has become politicized. It now consists of capitalists without capital, opinionated, vigorous and in no way deferential.

The 80 or so newly-elected MPs seem to work as a group in which the moderates surprisingly predominate and which has congealed into two recognizable "cabals", the Blue Chips and the Guy Fawkes dining clubs which complement the One Nation, Nick's Diner and the Lamp-lighters, formed recently to keep the light of moderation burning in the party.

No doubt the "seventy-niners" will be more distin-

guished than those of us who were washed ashore on the high tide of 1959. More distinguished and more comfortable, for the water is warmer for the less conventional and the party less stuffed. I doubt if they will be prepared to be as easily patronized and placated as we were in the past, and the Whips (the Sandbaggers) who had only to murmur a rebuke, will, if they were a hearing, have to raise their voices. What has the rump of the "fifty-niners" to look forward to? Membership of the Council of Europe, la politique gastronomique, service on the newly-formed select committees, and for some a handle to their name. But for others there remains the "great game" which will be played for all it is worth.

The author is Conservative MP for Aldershot, and chairman of the party's media committee.

## No question about it, it is a nuisance

The image of a fat banker slithering down the Cresta Run without a toboggan was unwittingly evoked in an avalanche of metaphor in *The Times* Business Section the other day: "The market was shaken by a sudden plunge in the pound's exchange rate, and as no floor was provided by the Bank, at least at first, there was a snow-balling effect." Like most jargons, the private language of the City slips easily into absurdity. Such technical terms as plunge, slide, and snow-balling are presumably dead metaphors for those who use them. For us outsiders they are still very much alive, and are roused by chance collocations

to mental motion picture shows as ludicrous as the Keystone Kops.

There is no question that such sectional vocabularies are rich sources for resurrection of metaphors from the dead as well as for the creation of new ones. There is no question that the third and fourth words in this sentence constitute a fashionable phrase. The air is full of confident no questions being used to dispute dubious arguments past and present too slow to police to object. There is no question of us being able to stop the nuisance, which will have to live out its busy but brief life as a vague expression, until all of us have grown tired of it. But no ques-

tion has the notable eccentricity of being fashionable with two opposing meanings simultaneously. At times it is used to mean the same as "no doubt". At other times it is used to mean almost the opposite.

In *The Times* the other day trumpet-tongued Bernard Levin was sounding off about there being no possible question that his principal endeavour, which was to make non-fattening food not merely palatable but delicious. Meanwhile, on the Arts Page Alan Coren had a double-barrelled no question: there was no question that the makers of a television

programme wished to make our flesh creep; no question, either, that they did so. Whereas, on yet another page a spokesman for the West German Government was reported as having told a press conference that there was no question of any large scale publication of the official volume documenting the Cheyenne kidnapping and Louisiana hijacking.

It is a rare Janus phrase that can manage to look in two such opposite directions without getting a stiff neck. The idiom is that no question that means no doubt that, and no question of means no possibility of. But the two distinct

meanings are sometimes confused, and often confusing.

At any rate, one old vexed question about question has been resolved. When questioned, we should at least pronounce the French intruder by pronouncing it in a Frenchified way, as *questionnaire*. Usage has ignored the prescriptive purists, as it usually does.

The influence of pollsters and government departments, which preferred *questionnaire*, has proved irresistible. *Questionnaire* pronounced in an Anglicized way, has established itself as a native and is quite at home. We do well to Anglicize our pronunciation of immigrant words. The English

are bad at foreign pronunciation. Sir James Bluntley once referred to the word "Renaissance" in a lecture. After touching on the facial acrobatics and adonoidal strangled noises that most people found necessary in attempts to deliver the word in French, he exclaimed: "Why don't they say *renassans* and have done with it?" In *Grand Larousse* the first meaning of *questionnaire* is given as a torturer or clerk who sets down the replies of the person tortured: a little metaphor for those answerable and interminable question lists that civil servants torment us with.

Philip Howard

## NEW YORK DIARY

There are few things a New Yorker loves more than to be playing the markets and winning. That is why, when the gold price was at its peak last week, spirits were high among the hundreds of people queuing in Manhattan's jewellery district to cash in on their heirlooms and trinkets.

That is also why, midweek, when the price had dipped, the queues had vanished. Nobody wants to live with the knowledge that he is selling below the top of the market, and there was a feeling that the slump was anyway only temporary.

I was out, queue-watching on the day the price was at its highest. In spite of having to wait two or three hours in temperatures which approached freezing, the citizens happily clutched their grips, cardboard boxes and suitcases warmed by camaraderie and the cosy glow provoked by the prospect of raising a little cash on the side.

The queues may have been no longer than those in London's Hatten Garden or in capi-

als throughout the western world, I suspect, though the people were having more fun.

Outside Rodman and Yarus, one of the best-known gold merchants on West 47th Street, a plump man with a moustache, bundled in a blue anorak and a woollen cap and blowing into his hands, was standing near the front of a queue of about a hundred people. The hand-drawn wagon at his feet held boxes covered with a tarpaulin.

"This," he declared, "is my idea of the last frontier. It's a challenge. The trick is to see how close to the edge you can get without falling over it."

The single block of West 47th Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues is known as the diamond district, although business in other precious gems and metals is also undertaken. It has none of the understated decoration of Hatten Garden, but has instead acquired something akin to the character of the pornography district, whose border is only one block west.

There are the same gaudy, flashy, neon signs, although here they read "Gold bought" rather than "Girls, girls, girls". As in the red light district, much of the business is transacted in the streets, although here by highly respectable Hasidic Jews, who wear black hats, coats and beards and stand on the pavement, doing deals and talking shop.

The diamond district has a reputation as a closed-in, secretive community on which there is a certain occasional, when there is a spectacular theft or a dealer murdered for his jewels, and the police and press investigate. It also has the happier reputation of containing some of the best Jewish delicatessen restaurants in New York.

The secrecy had rubbed off on to the people in the queue. Few were willing to give their names or to reveal, except in general terms, what they had come to sell.

A man in a long, dark overcoat had a large suitcase with him and I asked him what was in it. "My lunch," he whispered



conspiratorially. "My lunch and a couple of teaspoons."

They were ready, though, as New Yorkers generally are, to share their philosophy on life and the state of the markets, and they sipped hot coffee and nibbled doughnuts provided by an enterprising bystander who bought them from a local cafe and sold them on the street at a profit.

Rodman and Yarus organized separate queues for dealers and the general public. The man in the blue anorak was an antique dealer who had bought gold and silver in the last few weeks and was here to take his profit.

Did he, then, have an inkling that the market had reached its peak? "That doesn't concern me," he replied. "I work on margin. I don't have much capital so I have to sell what I buy."

"With the money I'll go buy some more and hope it keeps going up. If it doesn't I'll have to sell anyway because I'm under-capitalized. I just hope I get paid before my cheque starts bouncing. It's a struggle."

I put to him the fear expressed by some that people were melting down fine old works of art that could never be replaced, but he dismissed it. Most of what he had was of little intrinsic value except for the metal content.

"It's people's wedding rings, high school graduation rings, broken pieces and rings with

the stones missing," he said. "Sometimes it makes you want to laugh, or cry. You get wedding rings inscribed 'for ever, John, 1973', or 'Merry Christmas from your loving mother' and here are people selling them for the money."

"Of course if people do melt down antiques that's good for us in the trade. It means that the pieces that are left will go up in value."

In the queue I spoke to a film producer wearing a stylish tweed overcoat. "I'm going through a divorce," he confessed, "so I have two wedding rings which don't have sentimental value any more."

"I've also got a couple of the clips and a school ring and a silver identity bracelet I had in the services in the early Fifties. I'll sell it all for a few hundred so I'll be able to give my wife a little more money in the settlement."

"But it does make you frightened to wonder what's going to happen to the value of the paper money," he got in exchange. It may not be worth

much more than the paper it's printed on."

Next to him was a man in a blue anorak. I knew his name because it was embroidered on his front pocket, alongside the name of the laundry company for which he worked.

He had some rings which belonged to members of his family and some gold fillings about whose origins he was reluctant to commit himself.

"Let's just say I used to work for a house-clearing firm and we used to clear the effects of people who died."

And the wisdom of exchanging all this for money which may not have any lasting value? "I don't plan on keeping it that long," he answered, smiling.

A clothing manufacturer pulled a tarnished silver salt shaker from the pocket of his fawn raincoat. "I've got bits of these," he said, "and a few pieces of gold and jewelry. I've no use for any more. I've just sold some gold coins (about £90). I bought them several years ago for much less. I guess I'll clear

about a thousand altogether."

Some had less ambitious ideas. A college student taking the morning off from classes, immaculately turned out in a deep wine overcoat, did not expect more than \$200 if she was lucky. She was going to sell some out-of-fashion gold jewelry and buy something newer to replace it.

Three middle-aged women with rings to sell were swapping rumours about the latest gold price. "I hear it opened at \$850 in London," said one knowledgeably. "I have a friend on Wall Street who says it will go up to \$1,500."

"He heard two thousand," one of her companions chimed in, determined not to be outdone.

Despite the erratic performance of the price since, it would be a bold prophet who would now rule that out of the question. The queues on West 47th Street could well become a recurring feature of New York's outdoor social life.

Michael Leapman



# REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

The Republic of Ireland has started 1980 with an over-heated economy, continuing discontent about taxes, and a new Prime Minister pledged to public expenditure cuts. Denis Taylor discusses the implications of the change at the top

When Mr Charles Haughey replaced Mr Jack Lynch as Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland last month, some outsiders saw the event as evidence of deep stirrings in the Irish nationalist soul. The moderate Mr Lynch, whose attitudes towards Britain and Northern Ireland had earned him the name "Union Jack Lynch" from the Provisional IRA and their sympathizers, had bowed off the stage. He was succeeded by the politician who in 1970 had been charged with illegally importing arms into the republic, tried and acquitted.

Nationalist sentiments played a part in the crisis which led to Mr Lynch's withdrawal and Mr Haughey's accession. But had the Fianna Fail Government been seen to be governing effectively and had the economy not deteriorated after two prosperous years, there would have been insufficient pressure on Mr Lynch to withdraw from the premiership. The anti-partitionist public statements of Miss Siolta Valera, granddaughter of the party's founder and Fianna Fail Dail deputy, embarrassed Mr Lynch and led to a basis on the expression of her republican views. Then there was the controversy surrounding the agreement on British military flights beyond the border. But both issues should be seen in a much wider context.

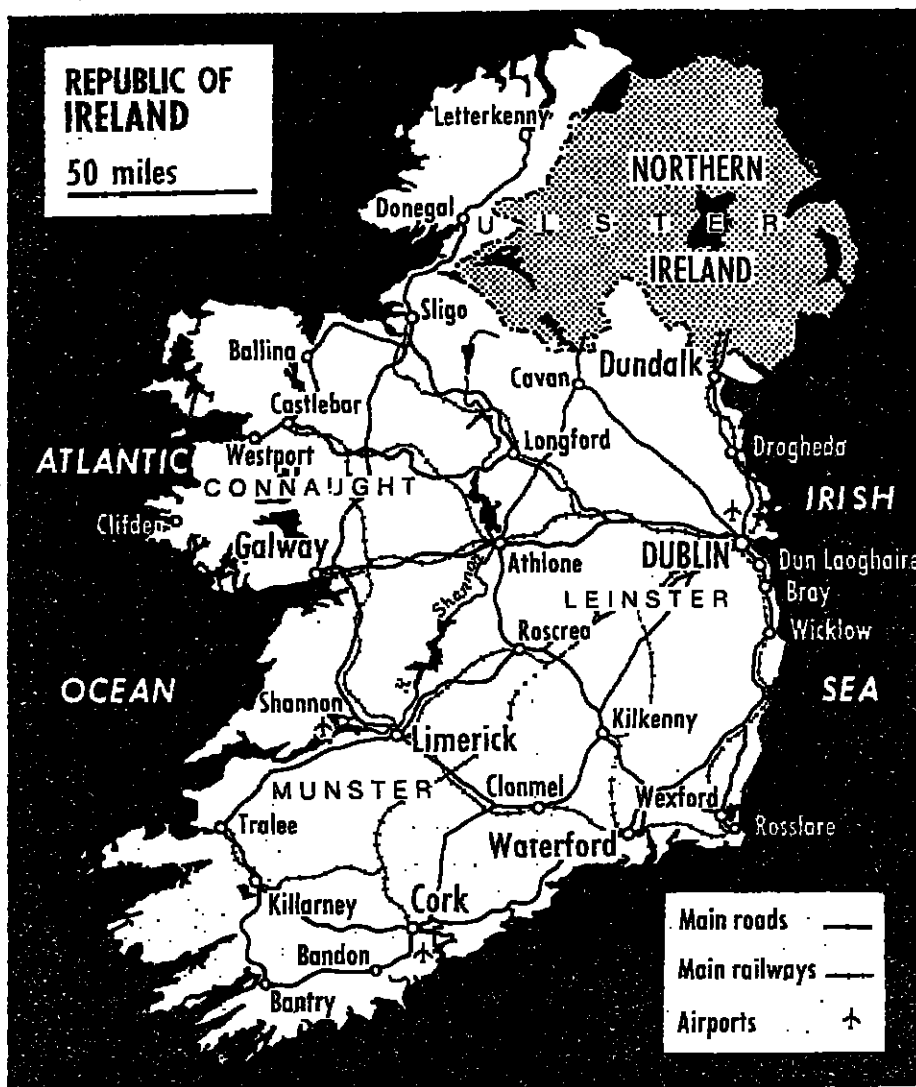
Fianna Fail defeats in European and local elec-

tions, and finally in two by-elections in Mr Lynch's native Cork, showed a tide of disapproval running against the administration. Its taxation policies had managed to offend both farmers and urban workers, and it had presided over rapidly rising inflation and a five months' postal strike. The main beneficiary of this disenchantment was the most overtly anti-IRA party, Fine Gael.

The record told against Mr George Colley, the Finance Minister, but it did not tell sufficiently to rout him when it came to a party vote for the new leader. While the voting showed a split between Cabinet and backbenchers, the latter strongly favouring Mr Haughey, the Fianna Fail decision was close and went to the victor 44 votes to 38.

That those backbenchers who had harboured strong republican sentiments while obediently following the Lynch line on Northern Ireland should give their allegiance to Mr Haughey was not surprising. But there were other considerations. Mr Haughey, a good speaker with a reputation for efficient administration in the mould of his late father-in-law, the late Prime Minister, Mr Sean Lemass, looked the more credible candidate to lead in the next election due at the latest in 1982.

It is the approach of this new election and the fact that Fine Gael will be led for the first time by Dr Garret FitzGerald, an econo-



mist and skilled television debater, that encourages Mr Haughey to concentrate on the economy. The new Prime Minister's televised address earlier this month was exclusively on economic issues. He spelt

out a message familiar to Mrs Margaret Thatcher. He said the country had been living beyond its means and that government spending would have to be cut.

When discussing the economy, there is room for long-term optimism. The immediate economic outlook is discouraging. But while the Irish Republic stands at the bottom of the European Community league table for per capita GDP, the level of affluence now found not only in the more traditionally prosperous east but also across the country would have been inconceivable a generation ago.

Unemployment remains high, but the tide of emigration to seek work has been stemmed and the population is rising, reversing a historical trend. Lifestyles increasingly resemble those found in Britain or on the Continent. The car, the colour television set and the foreign holiday have made the late President Eamon de Valera's early dream of a self-sufficient, Irish-speaking nation look incredibly remote.

There is another side to progress. The desecration of Georgian Dublin continues as the developers move in and banks and insurance companies sprout. The new architecture ranges from the attractive to the brutalist, but it could be found anywhere in Europe instead of in a unique and elegant, if sometimes dirty and shabby, capital city. Another trend is a perceptible erosion in the traditional authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Ninety-six per cent of the population of the Irish Republic are Catholics, and it looks from the outside as if the hold of the church is rock solid. Television pictures of the reception given to the Pope certainly reinforced this impression. The first visit by a Pope to a country where the Catholic faith has endured for 1,500 years was a tremendous historical and emotional experience for the Irish.

But while attention in Britain and Northern Ireland was focused on the Drogheda appeal for an end to violence, perceptive Catholics also noted the condemnation of divorce by the Pope in Limerick, and his Galway address to youth on the evils of the permissive society, and saw in them a reflection of some Irish bishops' desire to hold the line against lay influences.

The republic has a young population and more of the young are questioning traditional church teaching. There has been a decline in regular attendance at Mass among young people in Dublin and to a lesser extent in country areas. But questioning, not rejection, is the key word. Some have given up going to confession but still go to Mass and are searching for a more personal faith.

Surveys among school-leavers have shown a decline in the number considering the priesthood or a religious order, with doubts expressed about the finality of the commitment required and about the vow of celibacy.

But against this it must be said that adherence to Catholicism remains exceptionally high by the standards of the rest of Western Europe. Divorce is forbidden by the Irish Constitution of 1937 and it would require a referendum to change this. Such a plebiscite is not expected in the foreseeable future.

But it would be misleading to see the church as a monolith directing political behaviour. While changes in the law on contraception have proved contentious during the 1970s, some priests, by treating artificial birth control as a matter of conscience, have shown less preoccupation with doctrine than many politicians.

While the Irish Church has traditionally exercised immense authority in matters of sexual authority, its appeals against violence have usually made little impact. The lack of a response by the Provisional IRA to the Pope's appeal for peace should not have come as a surprise when for more than a hundred years supporters of physical force for political ends have ignored the condemnations of the hierarchy. Even the withdrawal of the sacraments has failed to deter.

Membership of the European Community arguably has made the Southern Irish more European than their British neighbours. The European role has given a great boost to Irish self-confidence and reduced the twin temptations to ape Britain and blame the British for domestic ills.

But Northern Ireland remains an area where there is still room for improving the education of southerners.

In retrospect Mr Lynch may be seen as an important pioneer in this. He spent much of the past decade arguing that the first priority was to devise a form of administration acceptable to both communities in Northern Ireland. The reunification by consent of the entire island, one of the key aims of the Fianna Fail Party, appeared to have been relegated to a distant future. The other chief goal, the restoration of the Irish language, was already a lost cause.

A more openly republican note was sounded with a Fianna Fail call for British withdrawal made in 1975 when the party was in an unaccustomed period of opposition. Mr Lynch however, did not allow this to hamstring him after his return to office two years later with the biggest majority of any government in the history of the state.

But while there is the view that reconciliation between Protestant and Catholic must come before any form of Irish unity, there is still little apparent comprehension of the degree of northern Protestant antipathy to close links with the republic. Reunification remains a dream for Southern Irishmen, irrespective of whether they belong to that minority with any sympathies for the IRA, and even if they hope that the longed-for British withdrawal from Ulster does not come too soon for comfort.

## Enigmatic leader veiled in green



The new Prime Minister's ascent to power is a remarkable story of determination and guts. The establishment within Fianna Fail, which favoured the much less personable George Colley for Taoiseach, was roused by the party's field workers in favour of the rumbustious and colourful Mr Haughey. His appointment as Prime Minister surprised the Irish, he seemed to be a name from the past, somebody who had missed his chance and would achieve nothing greater than Minister of Health.

But Mr Haughey, the tough guy of Irish politics, had planned his strategy well. He appealed to nationalist sympathizers because of the feeling that he had dabbled on the fringes of Republicanism, although there was nothing really to substantiate that.

He is nowhere on record as expressing republican views; he relied on the newspapers to attribute those views to him. So without saying anything his image as a hard line Irish Republican grew. His silence on the matter, however, ensured that he did not alienate all the moderate elements within Fianna Fail. Mr Haughey appealed to those most dominant of Irish emotions, romance and passion.

His brief tenure of office since early December has not been marked, as had been feared, by an upheaval in Anglo-Irish relations. Although the British are obsessed by those relations, Irish politicians are bored by the subject and it has remained somewhere near the bottom of the Irish Government's priority list.

Nor is there any evidence that the Irish police and Army are any less active in their efforts against the IRA. Indeed, some spectacular bomb finds just south of the border seem to demonstrate that the security forces are enjoying much success. Cooperation with the British security forces is also better than it has been for many years.

Mr Haughey's political guile is conducted with considerable flair: as Minister for Health he ingratiated himself by issuing free toothbrushes to all school children.

Since the arms trial of 1970 he has been at work polishing his image and it

has paid off with the greatest prize of all.

But he encountered a degree of personal criticism in the Dail on his election by the Fianna Fail MPs, which is unprecedented even in the turbulent world of Irish politics. Dr Garret FitzGerald, leader of the main opposition party Fine Gael, was merciless in his attack, which stayed far beyond the normal bounds of political cockfighting. But Mr Haughey, whose patience and stoicism is well proved, sat impassively in the Dail chamber throughout it all, and when it came time to defend himself.

He is passionately concerned about the Ulster problem, and with understandable reason. His family were Ulstermen, and he still has scores of relatives in the province. His father was forced out by the extremist Protestants in the campaigns of hatred in the early 1920s.

A few years after his father fled, Charles Haughey was born in the Irish Free State and later was educated in Dublin. He was at school with George Colley, now his deputy, who was his only opponent in the leadership contest. They had been lifelong rivals and now work together — or perhaps one should say side by side — uncomfortably.

What of his performance as Prime Minister so far? Everybody suspected his first action might be to advance the cause of nationalism; that was because Mr Haughey had allowed them to think so, without actually saying anything of the sort.

So, to the surprise of many people in Northern Ireland and Westminster, the economy has been his priority. On present showing he has a good understanding of the mechanics of the problem.

On the Ulster front he has heartily condemned the Provisional IRA in terms that firmly belie any impression he might have given of tacit sympathy for their barbaric methods. The British have had no cause for complaint, but it is early days and a real test has not yet presented itself.

When it does the new Taoiseach might again prove that whatever anybody thinks he might do, they are probably wrong.

Christopher Thomas

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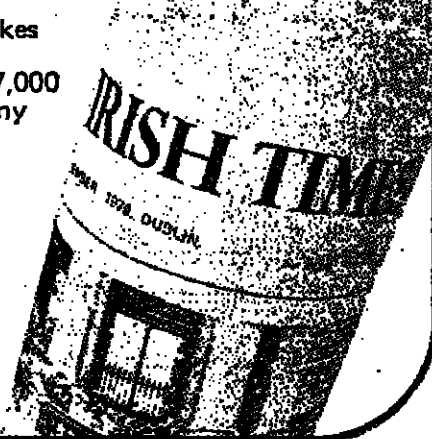
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### REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

#### Anglo-Irish relations

## Double-barrelled pot-shots at the IRA

To talk of Anglo-Irish relations is to talk, to a large extent, about cross-border cooperation in trying to frustrate the Provisional IRA's attempts to bring Northern Ireland into unity with the Republic.

Under the leadership of Mr Jack Lynch the ruling Fianna Fail party cooperated extensively with the authorities of the North. Given that Fianna Fail also shares a deep and emotional commitment to Irish unity, it sometimes embarrassed the party to be assisting in the maintenance of the border, but the abhorrence of violence outweighed all other considerations.

After the cold-blooded murder of Lord Mountbatten Mr Lynch agreed, though aware of the political dangers, to allow British helicopters to cross the border in pursuit of suspect vehicles without obtaining prior permission.

The secret arrangement caused an immediate furore when it was confirmed by Mr Lynch during a press conference in the Washington Press Club during his tour of the United States. Despite his denials, he gave more information to the American newspapermen than he gave to his own backbenchers in Dublin. It was a delicate time for the Prime Minister, and only he knows how much the clash contributed towards his decision to quit the leadership.

Mr Lynch's departure was a great disappointment to the British, because he was a man they could talk to. It

remains to be seen whether the new Prime Minister, Mr Charles Haughey, turns out to be as uncompromising as he is reputed to be. But so far he has done nothing to undermine the security efforts on both sides of the border—indeed, the Irish security forces appear to be enjoying a tremendous success rate in discovering bomb factories and bomb stocks.

Under Mr Haughey's rule, however, it does seem unlikely that the Irish Government will go any further. The British Government would clearly like the Republic to extradite wanted men for trial in the North, but such a move is impossible without either a change in the Act, which under international law forbids extradition for political offences, or a change in the usual definition of terrorist crimes so they are no longer deemed to be political.

The Irish Government, when pressed over the extradition issue, points out that if the British gave evidence to the Irish police against the person suspected of crime in the North, he could be prosecuted in the Republic.

This is possible under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act, which was passed unanimously by both the Westminster and Dublin parliaments. It means that terrorists can be tried on the British side of the border, they are captured, regardless of where the offence was committed. The difficulty, however, is that it is almost impossible

to persuade prosecution witnesses to come forward, usually because they fear for their safety.

In one important respect the IRA has cleverly managed to neutralize the Offences against the State Act, Ireland's main legal weapon against terrorists. One of its provisions is to allow the non-jury Special Criminal Court to convict a terrorist on the evidence of a single, senior police officer.

That was all very well until the court started imposing increasingly severe sentences until then the defendants almost always refused to enter a plea because they did not recognize the court, and such a plea gave the court no difficulty in concluding that the person was guilty. But now, however, the IRA now encourages defendants to enter an automatic plea of not guilty. Because the evidence of the police is so often based on hearsay, innuendo and assumption, and the court is frequently dissatisfied and dismisses the case. Consequently, the number of convictions of people for being members of the IRA is well down.

Relations between Dublin and Westminster stand or fall on the attitude of each to the situation in the North, and their respective handling of the situation. Mrs Margaret Thatcher is deeply concerned at the situation in Northern Ireland, and at his press conference on the day of his election as Taoiseach he said unequivocally: "I condemn the IRA and all its activities."

the latest political initiative. According to one story, she summoned Mr Humphrey Atkins, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, one day in September and told him to have a political initiative ready by October 25. That was the day she had dinner with Mr Kingman Brewster, United States Ambassador to the Court of St James's.

Mr Haughey began his term as Prime Minister with the most cautious of comments about the North, which brought a sigh of relief from Whitehall, which had convinced itself that the carefully built bridges would be brought tumbling down.

Mr Haughey told the Dail in a policy statement that the Government would concern itself with full civil rights and equality in the North, and with the impartial enforcement of the law. All people constructed in their approach in relation to Northern Ireland would find his door always open, he said, and added that there might be a change of emphasis in the Government's approach.

In the early days of Mr Haughey's reign, however, there have been no signs of what the change of emphasis has been. But he has been forthright in his condemnation of IRA activities and at his press conference on the day of his election as Taoiseach he said unequivocally: "I condemn the IRA and all its activities."

Christopher Thomas

#### Economy

## Public spending must be cut

The short-term outlook for the Irish economy is sobering. After two years, 1977 and 1978, when the Republic had the fastest growth rate in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the past few months have seen a worrying deterioration. The budget scheduled for next month is expected to be heavily deflationary.

As Mr Charles Haughey, the Prime Minister, told the nation on television earlier this month: "The figures which are just now becoming available to us show one thing very clearly. As a community we are living way beyond our means... we have been living at a rate which is simply not justified by the amount of goods and services we are producing."

The figures he quoted may seem insignificant to British readers, but it should be borne in mind that the Southern Irish economy is approximately one-third the size of that of the United Kingdom. Mr Haughey said that to meet the running costs of the state and its capital programme, more than £1,000m had to be borrowed last year.

"That amount is equal to one-seventh of our entire national output for the year. This is just far too high a rate and cannot possibly continue," he said. Ireland had also deteriorated, with a deficit of £760m.

The lesson he drew was one well rehearsed in Britain. "We will have to cut down on government spending. The Government are taking far too much by way of taxes from individual members of the community. But even this amount is not enough to meet our commitments. We will just have to reorganize government spending so that we only undertake the things which we can afford."

This stringent tone was continued the next day when the Government published a White Paper on investment and national development to 1983 with a preface coldly stating: "Since the White Paper was finalized the international outlook and the domestic situation have worsened, particularly in relation to the price and availability of energy."

The pessimism has not developed overnight. The Central Bank of Ireland's autumn quarterly bulletin

forecast a serious deterioration in the balance of payments deficit this year and this was without allowing for any sharp winter increases in oil prices. The bank also predicted inflation continuing to rise into the second half of the year, and a 21 per cent growth rate for the economy, which is extremely low by recent Irish standards.

The inflation rate in the 12 months to November was 16 per cent, compared with 6 per cent for May 1977 to May 1978.

But the bank's prognosis was not entirely gloomy. It argued that a reduction in the balance of payments deficit "need not, over time, greatly reduce output in employment, if at the same time the economy improves its international competitiveness."

Part of the present despondency is because the dash for growth under the Fianna Fail Government elected in 1977 seemed to be working so well, and jobs were being created at an unprecedented rate.

Even today, the prospects for Irish industry do not look too discouraging. This sector grew by between 7 per cent and 8 per cent last year in spite of the five months' postal strike and the long winter, which had adverse effects on food processing. This accounts for a quarter of Irish industry.

Industry tends to look at its prospects in much longer than the short-term. The picture here is of an annual growth rate of about 6 per cent from the middle of the 1960s until 1973 when the figure was 10 per cent. Over the next five years the rate held at about 9 per cent.

In 1975 the Industrial Development Authority had approved 15,000 new jobs. The increase last year was 35,000 approvals. About half the new employment is coming from overseas companies and half of this is in electronics.

Continental and Japanese firms are moving into the Republic, but the strongest interest is coming from the United States. The factor which has altered the industrial outlook is Ireland's membership of the EEC. While the elimination of tariff barriers means that Irish industry must be more competitive, goods produced

there now enjoy direct access to the whole of the Community.

A significant inducement to set up operations has been the tax holiday of up to 20 years granted to foreign companies producing for export. Firms making export commitments this year will still be eligible for tax relief until 1990. From 1981 the system will change to a 10 per cent corporation tax on profits from all manufacturing in the Republic, but this is not seen as a disincentive.

Membership of the Community has seen a shift in the distribution of Irish exports. In 1971, two thirds were sent to the United Kingdom and only 10 per cent to the Six. Seven years later, 47 per cent were destined for the British market and 30 per cent for the rest of the EEC. The Confederation of Irish Industry estimates that by 1982 two-fifths of sales will be to the continental members of the EEC and 35 per cent to the United Kingdom.

In this context, the Irish decision to break the historical link with sterling and join the European Monetary System (EMS) makes sense, even though the punt has depreciated against the strong pound. The Irish Government showed initial nervousness about joining the EMS, for which it is getting £275m in help spread over five years from EEC sources. But on balance, industrialists think the right decision was taken.

The private sector points out that most strikes have recently been in the public sector, but Mr Haughey has expressed particular concern about the whole area of industrial relations and said that any further serious interruption in production or the provision of essential services this year would be a major disaster.

In his television speech, however, he said that industrial relations were not a one-sided affair, and that managements who allow a drift to confrontation can be just as much to blame as unofficial strikers. But what he really wanted was a universal commitment to industrial peace in 1980. Few Irishmen will be tempted to bet on the prospects.

Denis Taylor



European leaders during the recent EEC summit meeting in Dublin.

#### Agriculture

## Banks now defer to the farmer

Ireland's farmers bless the day that the Republic joined the European Community. Their prosperity has risen dramatically although half the farms are still one-man affairs of no more than 50 acres—not enough to warrant any employee outside the family.

The food processing industry in particular has taken off under EEC membership, and now employs about 40,000 people, compared with a mere 2,000 people employed on the land by 150,000 farmers.

The family farm is still prevalent in Ireland, in spite of a drift from the land to industry in the early 1970s. But with unemployment in the big towns, the drift has slowed down and the small farm retains its dominant position in Irish society.

The family farm obviously has no industrial relations problem. The food processing industry, which is expanding rapidly, has seen a number of perhaps inevitable clashes over wages and conditions, but in general labour relations are good.

The processing industry is almost 100 per cent union organized, and the biggest single union is the Irish Agricultural General Workers. A spokesman there was in no doubt: "In a young growth industry like food processing, employees are offered many opportunities. We have no serious problems."

The latest pay deal, which was achieved without a single lost working day, gave a package of increases amounting to about 20 per cent, taking the average basic wage for a male worker to £65 a week.

The state has a big hand in the processing industry and has shown a firm willingness to involve the workforce at the highest level in decision-making. In the state-run Irish Sugar Company, a third of the board's members are workers' representatives under a new worker participation legislation. The first elections were held last year and the scheme appears to be working successfully, despite some early teething troubles.

In areas associated with agriculture, such as the veterinary service, the government has encountered some difficulties. For more than a year the veterinary surgeons' imposed limitations on their service's work for the state because of disagreements on fees.

And in a dispute over a variety of issues—which again boils down principally to payments—the Agricultural advisers entered into a long and acrimonious dispute with the Government. In both cases, the atmosphere has improved.

The increased prosperity of the agricultural community has had its expected effect on wages, and has also saved some remote villages from a slow death as the poor farmers moved out. However, the drift has not been entirely halted and job planners in the Manpower Consultative Committee say

that many young rural school leavers are entering the rapidly-growing industries such as electronics, mechanical engineering, consumer goods, chemicals, food processing and selected textiles.

But what sort of future is there for the small Irish farmer? It is instructive to take a single example of how membership of the EEC has changed the lifestyle of the farming community. Dennis Keary is the fourth generation to farm 65 acres between Loughrea and Athenry, Co. Galway. There were times when the bank refused to cash a cheque, but now it offers him all the money he can afford to borrow.

Irish farm prices have quadrupled in five years, and Dennis Keary's annual income has risen from £3,000 to £12,000 in that time. He took advantage of the EEC Farm Modernization Scheme, which provides capital to invest in more efficient methods. That helps to buy a £2,200 milking machine.

Similar stories can be repeated countless times. The farmers are a powerful political force and ministers for agriculture are cautious not to upset them. The farming vote swings from party to party and can influence the fate of governments not to mention the fate of individual agricultural ministers.

The Irish Farmers Association (IFA) meets ministers twice a month at least. The IFA complains that there is need for greater dialogue between what it calls the four social partners—farmers, employers, government and unions—to determine an agreed place for agriculture in the economy.

Since a change of leadership in 1976, the IFA has become more aggressive. There is considerable ill-feeling among many ordinary wage earners to the farmers and their alleged privileged position; as the man in the street sees it, the farmers have striven a chorus of complaints despite their booming prosperity of the past seven years, compared with wage earners who have suffered, not prospered, because of inflation.

But the period of agreement with the EEC may be over: farm prices are not rising so quickly because of a combination of the EEC Commission's difficulty in financing the present structure of agricultural prices and consumer-trade union lobbying in Brussels over farm prices.

The farmers' organizations are working hard to convince workers about the value of the Common Agricultural Policy, but the tide of opinion appears to be running against them.

Nevertheless, the farmers are powerful enough to ensure that their new prosperity is not lightly taken from them; it would be a foolhardy government that tried to do it.

C.T.

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كزائن الأخبار



## Joining EEC brings new self-confidence

The Irish are relieved that their presidency of the EEC ended four weeks ago. This does not mean that things went badly wrong from their point of view during their six months in the chair, but rather that they do not envy the Italians in having to cope with the first half of this year.

Dublin sees Rome having to face up to an aggravated energy crisis and a worsening international recession, quite apart from the difficulties posed by Britain's demands for a financial redress. This issue hung like a cloud over the Dublin summit in November. But while the Irish, like other net beneficiaries from the EEC were unhappy about British intransigence, at least the crisis was postponed during their time as hosts to Europe.

Although the EEC has opened a market of more than 260 million people to Irish industrial products, the Community begins to look less like a crack of gold for the farmers. The Irish Republic has a larger proportion of the labour force employed in agriculture than any other EEC country, and the Common Agricultural Policy has benefited them and made Ireland a tactical ally of the French. The present rethinking of the desirability of food surpluses could help to temper Irish farmers' enthusiasm for Europe. But whatever the future economic implications of membership, the political significance of entry to the EEC seven years ago is unquestionable.

This step has helped to give the Republic of Ireland a new self-confidence. The late President Eamon de Valera had the stature, while Prime Minister, to assert an Irish identity through the League of Nations. In the post-war period, the country played a modest but increasing role in United Nations activities, notably the peace-keeping operations in the Congo, Cyprus and the Middle East.

But joining the EEC brought two important changes. First, Dublin was free to make economic and financial choices without continual reference to decisions already taken in Bri-

tain. Second, to function properly in the Community, Ireland needed direct diplomatic links with communist, Muslim and other Third World countries. The traditional policy of relying on its missions at the United Nations had become too limited.

Ten years ago, Dublin had 41 embassies and missions abroad, concentrated in Western Europe and North America. Not surprisingly, given the close migrant links with the United States, there were consulates-general established in New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco as well as the Washington Embassy and the United Nations delegation. But the Republic maintained only three posts in the whole of Africa, Asia and Latin America in Lagos, New Delhi and Buenos Aires.

In 1973 embassies were opened first in Athens and Luxembourg, thus rounding off representation in all EEC states and candidates for entry, and later in Tokyo. The following year, the Irish opened their embassy in Moscow, the first in any communist country, and in Vienna and Beirut, their first diplomatic base in the Arab world. Cairo came next in April, 1975, followed by Jeddah 12 months later and Tehran in September, 1976. Nairobi and Peking were added last year, and development aid offices have begun work in Lesotho, Tanzania and Zambia.

The Department of Foreign Affairs budget has risen from £15.7m in 1970 to £17.36m in the present financial year. Just over half the budget is for general running costs and half for contributions to the United Nations and development aid. There has not been such a sharp increase in staff. Headquarters staff in Dublin have gone up from 40 to 100 since 1970 and those posted abroad from 73 to 135.

This underlines how much Irish missions tend to be run on a shoestring. A couple of diplomats may have to run a post, and an ambassador, in the Middle East for example, may be accredited to more than one capital. There is not yet any organized training in difficult languages before officials are posted abroad. Mr Edward Brennan already spoke Rus-

sian before he was sent as Ambassador to Moscow, but he had studied the language at his own initiative while serving in another post. The need to learn by experience and the fact that new posts are often in areas of tension, or at least topical interest, mean that an Irish diplomat should not suffer from boredom. It has also meant early promotions, with ambassadors aged about 40 being appointed. At the same time, promised cuts in public expenditure could mean that some hopeful high-flyers will be left minding desks in Dublin.

Irish foreign policy is acquiring a more commercial edge. Trade and energy are seen as increasingly important, hence developments like the government-to-government contract for oil supplies from Iraq and the visit of a trade mission to China. The Irish are thinking of what just a fraction of the Chinese market could do for their exports.

The Northern Ireland problem can always sour relations between Dublin and London. But Anglo-Irish relations do not look quite as obnoxious as a part of Irish foreign policy as they did at the start of the 1970s. There are now a few other items on the agenda as well.

D.T.



## Mr Haughey on the right track

The traditional Irishman's love of racing is one that transcends even political boundaries and two especially keen racegoers were the Fianna Fáil Taoiseach, Mr Sean Lemass and his Fine Gael opposite number, Mr Liam Cosgrave. No politician in his knowledge, however, has got himself quite so deeply embroiled in the sport as Mr Charles Haughey, the recently-elected successor to Mr Jack Lynch.

The successes on the track of a sprinter, Miss Cossie, originally fired his enthusiasm and she became the foundation of a summer study which he set up at his home in north Co. Dublin. Today Mr Haughey has 10 brood mares and he has become a regular vendor of yearlings each autumn. Through hunting he has also acquired a taste for National Hunt racing and to visitors to his home he displays with pride the trophy he received when Volforo won the Power Gold Cup at Fairyhouse.

Through this first-hand knowledge he has acquired a particular appreciation not only of the reward but also of the hazards involved in the breeding of bloodstock and he can therefore be relied upon to continue the bipartisan policy whereby thoroughbred breeders enjoy a special tax-free situation which has made them the envy of their European counterparts.

Indeed Ireland is the only major bloodstock breeding country in the European Community where horses are zero rated for the purposes of value added tax.

Just before Christmas Mr Richard Burke, the Irish EEC Commissioner, reported that the British Government had lodged a formal complaint to the European Commission about the allegedly

biased VAT treatment of bloodstock sales in Ireland and the unfair competition that this presented to breeders in Britain. He hinted that this charge could eventually bring Ireland and France before the European Court of Justice but if that happens, Mr Haughey will fight bitterly for the status quo.

In the early volumes of the general stud book the Irish-based brood mares were published in a separate section but early in the nineteenth century the breeders' inferiority complex demanded that Wetherby do away with the division and publish all the mares in a single alphabetical index. Their request was acceded to but times have changed and since the end of the Second World War there has been much agitation by Irish breeders if not for a return to the old style of stud book entry at least for the recognition that there is such a thing as a distinctive Irish thoroughbred.

The battle for world markets as an outlet for surplus bloodstock has fuelled this complaint and for a considerable number of years Coras Tractála, the Irish Export Board, and the Racing Board joined forces to publish and distribute a monthly magazine publicizing the exploits both at home and abroad of Irish breeds.

It was a former secretary of the Racing Board, Mr Leo Kelly, who produced the most realistic definition to settle the controversial issue as to which country could claim the credit for major winners. He said that the horse should be the nationality from the country in which its dam was permanently based. In an age of increased international breeding it so happens that

many foals are born in foreign lands when their dam has gone to be covered.

During the past 20 years there has been a dramatic growth in the size of the Irish bloodstock industry and I calculate that in this period alone the number of mares has doubled from fewer than 4,000 to almost 8,000. It is often a relevant criticism that more means worse but this has not proved the case and whereas before the war most successes accruing to Ireland came in jumping, today Ireland is one of the principal sources for top quality flat racing stock.

This was borne out in last year's Pattern Races in Britain and France. Of these 202 events, France won 57, Ireland 55, Britain 45 and the United States 43.

If one was to isolate a single factor to explain this improvement in quality, it would be the exemption of stallion fees from any form of income tax. When the former American ambassador, Mr Raymond Guest, retired his Derby winner Sir Ivor to stud in Co. Kildare, the horse had a potential earning capacity of 320,000 guineas a year. At the time that was a post-tax profit achieved by relatively few Irish commercial enterprises.

While many of the best bred Irish yearlings find their way abroad, home trainers of the calibre of Vincent O'Brien and Paddy Prendergast, because of their skill, have acquired international patronage.

Both O'Brien and Prendergast have headed the list of leading trainers in Britain on more than one occasion, and with five victories in the Derby already to his credit O'Brien is within reach of the seven-Derby training record held jointly by Robert Robson, John Porter and Fred Darling.

If tax concessions have helped breeding, the one innovation which, more than any other, transformed the face of Irish racing was the establishment in 1945 of the Racing Board. Long before British racing had its levy board, Ireland had a state-sponsored body with the legal right to operate the Totalisator and to collect a levy on all course bets with bookmakers.

Millions of pounds comes from these two sources each year, and they have provided the money both to improve racetracks for the public and to offer worthwhile prizes for owners.

Figures issued earlier this month by the Racing Board compared 1970 with 1979. The minimum prize rose from £300 in 1970 to £1,200 in 1979, while the total prize money increased from £955,861 to £3,525,317. More money has inevitably led to

more horses being put into training.

Betting is big business in the Republic, and the 1,100,000 racegoers last year wagered almost £12m with the Tote and more than £52m with the bookmakers. English visitors often express astonishment at the size of the betting at even the smallest meetings, when £10,000 bets are commonplace while course bookmakers such as Sean Graham and David Power have annual turnovers of several million pounds.

With this background of a healthy breeding industry and a flourishing racecourse service, Irish racing enters the 1980s with confidence that it will hold its own with the best in the world.

Tony Sweeney

## Peat softens the blow of energy prices

As the frantic search for oil continues around its coast, the Irish Republic, like most countries, is anxiously reappraising its energy requirements. Britain may be an island of coal in a sea of oil, but Ireland is not so blessed. It does, however, have something unique: peat. Dubliners can still soften the blow of electricity and gas prices by buying the right to a small piece of bog in the countryside for a small sum.

Peat excavation is a big exercise in the republic, and many people are concerned that deposits may be quickly exhausted. The national peat board, Bord na Móna, has the responsibility of developing the removal of turf.

But turf is not the main preoccupation. Oil is the prize the Government wants to win, and from time to time the republic goes into a state of excitement as rumours spread of big finds. The worst fear is that big oil companies will not find anything worth while, will become disgruntled and will give up the search.

The drilling commitments which were made under the licences granted in 1975 are expected to be almost completed later this year and after that the oil companies can make up their minds whether to continue.

As in other countries, the attempt to reduce oil consumption (Ireland depends on oil for 75 per cent of its energy) has not had concerted government attention in Ireland until recent years. But the oil crisis has focused the republic's mind quickly and sharply.

With the move away from expensive oil-fired central heating to electricity, the Electricity Supply Board is in danger of not being able to meet demand in severely cold weather. Power cuts are an ever-present danger.

The national peat board has on average excavated about four million tons of peat a year, 75 per cent of which was used to generate electricity. Two years ago more than 15 per cent of Ireland's primary energy came from peat excavated from the ancient bogs.

It was not, before the oil price rises, particularly cheaper than other energy sources. Impure oil and coal were highly competitive, but peat excavation had the sound advantage of providing employment in the depressed areas, where most bogs are. Ironically, now that peat is cheaper than oil and coal, the supplies are running out.

Peat production is expected to begin to decline in the middle of this decade, and this traditional and peculiarly Irish form of energy will contribute less and less to energy needs. There will remain, however, 800,000 acres of bogland which, while not suitable for large-scale development, will ensure that the farmer and the adventurous city dweller can still get ample supplies.

A proposal for a nuclear power plant in Co. Wickard has encountered stiff public opposition, and the Department of Industry has promised a public inquiry into the £350m project. But many people, and not just those connected with the anti-nuclear movement, are sceptical about the inquiry, believing that it will not fully explore the issues.

The executive of An Taisce, an organization con-

cerned with conservation and the environment, said that the decision to invest in nuclear power was apparently being taken on the basis of available grants from EEC partners rather

than from considerations of national economy in energy use. The proposed 650 megawatt nuclear power station would perhaps, by 1990, generate 3 to 4 per cent of energy used and would not solve transport problems.

Last November Mr Frank Cluskey, leader of the Labour Party, called for a referendum on nuclear power, and at least one eminent government adviser has given warning that the nuclear plant could put the Irish Republic at the mercy of multinational uranium cartels.

Test drilling in Co. Donegal has shown traces of uranium, and mining will go

ahead if good supplies are found. Conservationists, however, argue that bad weather could cause a serious spread of pollution. The case of the pro-nuclear lobby would be strengthened if uranium was discovered, and the anti-nuclear faction awaits developments with concern.

In the search for new energy supplies the republic has at least managed to discover gas, although only in one place off Cork. By British standards it is a small quantity, but the Kin-sale field is worth the equivalent of 40 million tons of coal a year and at that rate could be used for another 20 years.

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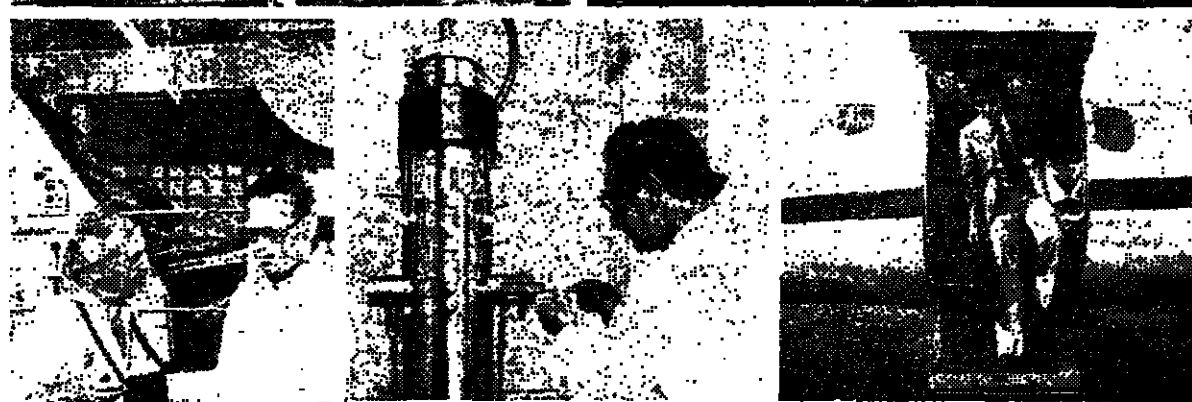
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The domestic user is not benefiting. Apart from a trickle which is offered to householders in Cork, the gas is used in the manufacture of commercial fertilizer. Not everybody was happy at the decision: some argued that it should be used for the generation of electricity, but the huge cost of imported fertilizer finally persuaded the authorities to use their gas for this purpose.

Among all the arguments about energy, there is only one proposition agreed upon: the Republic of Ireland has entered the race against time for new sources of energy.

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## Irish Peat

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Bord na Móna (Irish Peat Development Authority) is the organisation responsible for these activities and was established in 1946 by the Government for this purpose.

There are two main peat types - horticultural moss peat and fuel peat derived from the more limed layers of the bog.

The fuel peat is used for electricity generation and general industrial and domestic use. Almost 20% of Ireland's electric power is generated from peat. And over half of the domestic solid fuel used is peat.

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The Irish peat industry through Bord na Móna has and continues to make significant contributions to the national economy: substantial savings in fuel imports; valuable export revenue through its horticultural peat sales and full-time employment for a great many people through the combined activities of both.

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Just ask anyone who's been there.

Maeve Binchy, *The Irish Times*, examines tourist standards

## Just what the Europeans are looking for

Last year more than a million people came to Ireland from Britain for a holiday. This may have included large numbers who work in England and came home to see their mothers and fathers and it includes those who came on conferences and for business combined with holidays. However, the figure is none the less impressive, because for a while there was the deep fear that British tourists—on whom the whole Irish tourist industry had been based—were going to disappear.

The events of the past 10 years in Northern Ireland have not helped to foster rapport; cheap and competitive continental holidays for British holiday-makers were another source of difficulty; and the accusations of an Irish holiday being pricey and awkward turned people's minds elsewhere.

But now apparently things are much improved. In the last year for which statistics are available, British tourists have contributed £79m to the Irish economy, and the sight of cars with GB registrations is now commonplace. The hotels that had planned their new rooms and their whole strategy back in the 1960s—specifically with the British holidaymaker in mind—are now able to breathe again.

The fear that the whole expansion and development to cater for an English type of tourist might have been wasted is receding.

Nowadays Irish hoteliers and tourist concerns come freely and enthusiastically to British tourist fairs and promotions in order to sell their goods. Ireland seems to be back in business as a holiday destination.

In many ways the falling-off of British tourists may have helped the Irish tourist industry. It had to examine itself more honestly. Were the standards high enough? Could something be done to make the food more appealing? Were hoteliers expecting people to come and sit in a hotel for a week without making any effort to entertain them or even to let them know what was available?

rating too much on the and build the kind of garmanian hotels we did not have the money for ourselves. Now, just in time, we can see what the island really does have to offer.

What it has to offer is a great variety of specialist holidays. I would encourage anyone who played golf, or liked boats, fishing, riding or any active to come to Ireland. The sense of participation enhances any holiday, and it is fair to say that in Ireland the pleasure will be further increased by helpful people such as patient golf professionals, witty horse handlers, and marvellously confident boatmen who give you thousands of pounds' worth of craft as casually as if they were selling a pound of tomatoes.

Ireland is a country which can be seen very well through its festivals, too. These are for people to come together on the flimsiest of excuses, and you might well meet the same faces at the seafood festival in Kenmare as at the light opera festival in Waterford, the Merriman summer school in Clare, the Galway Oyster Festival or Listowel races. A festival consists of organized days and disorganized nights, for its mere existence means an extension of the drinking hours and of opening times in the pubs.

Ireland is well seen, too, through two kinds of accommodation in particular. One is its newly established holiday homes, these are listed and praised in international as well as Irish guides, so the praise is not just parochial. Often they are family homes with all the original paintings and silver, and the whole family joining in to make the guests feel welcome. At the other end of the financial scale, but equally tasteful and showing what is best in Ireland, are the farmhouses. This type of holiday, ideal for families with young children, has become enormously popular and many an Irish farmyard now has young visitors from all over the world.

Another great error was revealed at this time, for the Irish tourist interests realized they had been concentrating too much on the and build the kind of garmanian hotels we did not have the money for ourselves. Now, just in time, we can see what the island really does have to offer.

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Cruising on the river Shannon, the longest waterway in the British Isles and a popular playground in the republic.

economic advantages the Irish farmers seem to have gained from membership of the European Community.

I do not know why we never thought of opening up our stately houses and gardens to the public until recently. Years ago I used to tour British houses with guides and look at the rooms and scroll the gardens, and at the back of my mind there was a chauvinistic feeling that we must have had just as good back at home. We certainly had them, as any list of houses to view will show, and the tourist in Ireland can examine the amazing Beit collection of paintings in Russborough, or the collection of tapestries in Wicklow. Last year I saw an English couple at Russ-

borough having to sit down and recover when they realized that there were six Mortuos in the dining room alone and that there also seemed to be a Goya or a Reynolds anywhere else one cared to look.

Then there is the castle of Glenties, where the Knight of Glenties or his wife, Madam Fitz-Gerald, may be there to show you the treasures. Or there is James Joyce's tower just outside Dublin—and dozens more.

There is a haphazard charm about Ireland which is hard to define and hard to forget. It is that kind of charm and the memory of it that brings the people back, and now when they are coming back they will find a better Ireland: one that learnt a lot from its mistakes at the boom time, and one that somehow found class and style and quality when times were lean.

## Festivals are an established tradition

John Higgins comments, con brio, upon the events of the year from Dublin's twentieth-century music in January to Wexford's opera in October, with films at Cork in the meantime

Ireland usually has the distinction of opening and closing the European festivals year. The strains of the New Year's morning concert by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, devoted annually to various members of the Strauss family, have scarcely faded when, 1,000 miles away, Dublin is warming up in a house crammed with scores and operatic memorabilia.

The new director, Adrian Slack, is maintaining the tradition of staging operas which are known more by their reputation than in performance. This year's trio are an abrupt halt by the works of George Crumb and Elliott Carter with attendant austerities and obscurities. But for those who wished to venture less far into contemporary music there were Shostakovich and Prokofiev. Performances leave a rather different kind for its Festival of Twentieth-Century Music.

January 3 was the starting date this year and some complained that turn-of-the-year indulgence was brought to an abrupt halt by the works of George Crumb and Elliott Carter with attendant austerities and obscurities. But for those who wished to venture less far into contemporary music there were Shostakovich and Prokofiev. Performances leave a rather different kind for its Festival of Twentieth-Century Music.

Most Irishmen agree that the last shall be first. And the last is the Wexford Festival, which this year runs from October 22 to November 2. For a couple of decades Wexford has been the best attended (in terms of the percentage of seats sold) and the best organized of the country's festivals. When the audience links arms at the end of the closing Sunday night performance for "Auld Lang Syne", before going off for a nightcap in one of the Main Street bars, it is clear that winter is almost upon us. The leaves are off the trees, probably blown away by one of the gales which rush up the south-east coast during the 10 days of opera. But if winter has to come, then a visit to Wexford is one of the best ways of approaching it.

The beginnings almost 30 years ago were simple. The late Sir Compton Mackenzie came to the seaport to give one of his record recitals. At the end of the evening one of the audience plaintively remarked that it was all very well listening to the singers, but when would there be a chance of seeing them? "Create your own opportunity", was the crisp reply of Monty Mackenzie. "Build yourself a festival."

And Wexford did, under the guiding hand of Dr Walsh, who had delivered most of the town's children before he gave birth to a festival. Dr Tom, as he is known to the whole town, handed over the administration some time ago, but he still lives within a few minutes' walk of the Theatre Royal in a house crammed with scores and operatic memorabilia.

Lodge Hotel, which has one of the best kitchens in the land. There is a fine view from the restaurant over the grey slate roofs of the city touched by a little smoke drifting down across the harbour. A true taste of Ireland.

Some with a leaning towards the ethnic arts may have made their way a fortnight earlier to Ennis in Co. Clare where the Fleadh Nua is devoted entirely to traditional Irish music and entertainment for four days. Those who claim to avoid festivals because they bring in too many foreign visitors will have nothing to complain about in that score in Ennis, although the locals have been heard to object that too many of the prizes are awarded to the invading Liverpool Irish.

Farther north in Castellar there is the Four Day Walks Festival (June 26-29). Cars are banned during this period, but visitors are able to come away with a certificate saying that they completed the course. There is at the same time a pop music festival sponsored by Berger Paints. One of the locals dubbed the festival the Follies Berger, but the paint company has good-naturedly continued to open its creak of gold.

And so in autumn to the capital and the biggest event—the Dublin Theatre Festival—perhaps stopping off in Galway where the oyster season is celebrated in early October by a ceremonial mollusc opening at Paddy Burke's well-known establishment in Clarinbridge. From September 29 until October 18 the festival takes

over every theatre in Dublin, and several buildings normally used for other purposes.

At the moment 30 productions are promised for this year, of which seven are claimed as world premieres. Those numbers, though, are likely to change over the next seven months as Dublin and its playwrights work up to the last minute. The three weeks usually draw the London impresarios looking for a Christmas production, more often than not Hugh Leonard obliges them with something.

These are the festivals, or at least some of them, to sample. The one to avoid is St Patrick's Week (March 14-22) when Dublin is turned over to parades led by drum majorettes, urged on by riotous American tourists wearing green hats. It is a time when Dubliners run for cover.

Meanwhile, for the next six weeks, Londoners can get their own taste of Ireland without moving far from their homes. The London Festival of the Irish Arts, which begins on February 1, is spread over almost 50 venues—from Action Space through the ICA to the Wigmore Hall. The pic of the events must include the London premiere of Hugh Leonard's *A Life*, which was first seen at the Dublin Theatre Festival last autumn (Old Vic, February 4-16) and the Irish Ballet Company's version of Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* with music by The Chieftains, who will be at Sadler's Wells to support the dancers (March 4-8).

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## MR SIRS OFF SIDE

Undaunted by the superior timidity of the House of Lords the Court of Appeal perseveres in its determination to set limits to the scope of the immunities granted to trade unions by statute. By granting an injunction to restrain the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation from extending its strike to non-nationalized steel producers Lord Denning and his colleagues have unquestionably decided the issue according to its broad merits. There is at present no dispute between these private employers and the union. The strike call is to men who by and large do not want to hear it, against employers with whom the union has no quarrel. Its effect on profits and employment in the privately owned steel industry would be damaging. The damage it would do to manufacturing industry is wider still. It is a strike without merit or justification.

The ground on which the court granted the injunction was that the strike was probably unlawful because it was called not in furtherance of a trade dispute, which would have earned immunity, but in furtherance of a political dispute. The judges convicted Mr Bill Sirs out of his own mouth, so to speak. He had given notice to the Independent Steel Employers Association in these unguarded terms, "Whilst agreeing that there is no dispute with any independent steel employer [my executive committee] were firmly of the opinion that this dispute is becoming politically stage-managed by the Conservative Government. . . . It is because of the political intervention that my executive committee feel that we should now take the action of involving the private

sector in the public battle against the government attitude."

Perhaps by putting it like that Mr Sirs hoped to send the private steel producers to their friends in government to plead for a softer line. What he has actually done is allow the Court of Appeal to find that his union has embarked on a second, political dispute distinguishable from the first, trade dispute; and unlawful as done in furtherance of a political dispute have no immunity at law.

Though not wholly blocking it, the recent judgment of the House of Lords in the *McShane* case has weakened the argument of "remoteness" in its application to trade disputes. The argument has become less capable of supporting the equitable principle that people should not be deprived of the means of redress when they are embroiled by trade unions in disputes not of their making and to which they are in no sense parties. On the facts of the present case that principle would seem sufficient, in equity if not in law, to make the extension of the strike unlawful. By choosing a different ground, namely that it was a political dispute that the union was proposing to embark on, the Court of Appeal has injected another dose of uncertainty into the law of strikes.

All that is said about the union's objectives in extending the strike can be said equally about the strike proper. It is aimed at winning some relaxation of the government's financial policy towards the Steel Corporation—the only hope, the unions are informed, of "more money on the table". Does it follow that the primary strike against BSC

has turned political too, having as its object coercion of the government?

If not, what makes one political and not the other? Is it that in BSC the employer's ability to pay wages is ultimately determined by the government (so it is all right to coerce the government) and in the private sector of the steel industry it is not? Where in the legislation on the subject is the basis for that distinction to be found?

How are those unions whose numerous membership have their pay directly or indirectly determined by government policy to understand their position in the light of this judgment? Is their latitude to strike narrower than that of other unions? Or their freedom to elicit sympathetic action from other groups of workers?

What happens, should those times ever return, when the government of the day has a full-blown incomes policy, which becomes a factor, perhaps the decisive factor, in most pay settlements in and out of the public sector? What meaning would "coercing the government" be given in that context?

This judgment of the Court of Appeal is most timely, not only for its merits, but because it obliges the Government to reconsider the Bill it now has before Parliament and convert it into a piece of legislation which deals comprehensively with industrial disputes and the scope of immunities in connection with them. To the balance of the present law must now be added its uncertainty. It should not be left to the courts to reform it. That is Parliament's business.

## THE RETURN OF MR MUGABE

Mr Mugabe's opening election speech when he returned to Southern Rhodesia was addressed as much to whites as to blacks. As was widely foreseen, it was moderate in content and reassuring in tone. To the crowd yesterday he offered two vital things—peace and spoils. The war, he insists, is over; the past is to be forgotten; the wounds bound up. After Mr Nkomo's own speech Mr Mugabe could not speak very differently. The passionate will for normality and stability is shown in the mass return of refugees to their homes before the ceasefire is converted from truce to peace. In this respect he now seems to stake almost everything upon electoral victory, even if some guerrillas are being kept in the bush in reserve to restart hostilities if the results seem unacceptable to Zanu.

The spoils he offers are a reformed opportunistic society with jobs, land and power at every level going progressively to the blacks. The Marxist society in which he personally believes has no electoral appeal. Perhaps many in Rhodesia know, as Mugabe certainly does, that African Marxist states are characterized by poverty, hunger, tyranny and want. It is for this reason that President Machel of Mozambique

wants a return to the productive normality of Rhodesia: he needs its traditional food surplus.

Many blacks want the whites to stay, provided they stay as employers and patrons, rather than as a caste of masters. Black majority feeling is for a traditional society with high employment, good wages, open promotion and more land. Land is here the key. Eventually nothing can satisfy African land-hunger but virtually all European land. But there is no desire for collectivized farms, so Mr Mugabe has wisely decided to find land for resettlement—there is a good deal—without undertaking to destroy immediately the core of the white agrarian economy. He may well be torn between a nationalist predilection to give land back to the blacks on traditional tenures and the correct Marxist line of conveniently nationalizing white landfunds for conversion to African collectives—possibly on the not very promising Tanzanian precedent.

To the whites he said that they would have their share in a mixed economy. He rejected a white exodus. How sincere he is time alone can show. It has been freely said that Mr Mugabe is alert to the value of white skills in black states—if wielded by Cubans or other ideological

allies. He may have noticed, however, the immense importance of specifically ex-British white skills in Zambia, a less complex economy than Zimbabwe will inherit. As far as they go, his words fit the British Government's long term objective of keeping the white settlement money in the service of a moderately-led Zimbabwe.

In so far as Mr Mugabe's speech recognizes the realities of Rhodesia it is to be welcomed. His own uncertainties may be revealed in his attacks on the Governor for favouring Bishop Muzorewa's party. If Britain ever favoured the Bishop its pressure upon him at Lancaster House should suggest that this is no longer Whitehall policy. The Bishop lost most at Lancaster House, and has gone on losing. Mr Nkomo, on the other hand, has made a big comeback.

Mr Mugabe, already soliciting an alliance with the white group in parliament, appears to foresee that he may not emerge as the largest party, and that he will be able to wield power only in coalition. To make overtures to the whites looks like a concession to the enormous influence that rival tribal loyalties are exerting in this election and must continue to do so after it.

reasonably doubt what his report will propose. Labour constituency moderates have lost. Moderate Labour trade union leaders have lost. Most members of the Parliamentary Labour Party have lost. There is no further court of appeal except the party conference next autumn, and only a fool would hold hope on that.

Above all, Mr Callaghan has lost, and if he were to continue in the leadership with any authority at all he would be a liability. He is now in the position where he cannot by managerial influence or resignation timing ensure the election of his preferred successor, and every day he stays on prolongs the frustration of moderate leadership candidates who need to declare themselves and compete on equal terms with left-wing rivals.

If Mr Callaghan put down the mantle of leadership soon, the Parliamentary Labour Party could quickly elect a new leader, and he would present himself to the autumn party conference as the sitting tenant. It is an odd thing about the Labour Party that, unlike the Conservative Party, they are poor hands at the business of any established leader with the woolly-minded but worthy George Lansbury as a possible exception.

A new Labour leader elected soon by the PLP, which still has a fading moderate majority, would at least survive through the next two general elections. Mr Callaghan cannot plausibly survive until 1983 or 1984. No more needs to be said. If Mr Callaghan wants to achieve his unmistakable objective, he should go out without delay.

Allow me to say that until now I have offered no criticism on the internal constitutional dispute within the Labour Party, partly because I have lived as a reporter through too many of their silly end self-destructive internal quarrels, partly because in practice the Labour Party is never quite so stupid as its own publicity. But there remain one or two questions that have to do with the United Kingdom. Consideration of the Labour Party's constitutional reforms were to go through.

Let us assume that the proposal to take the election of party leader out of the hands of the PLP passes. The party conference, say, imposes on the Labour Party one of its cherished left-wing policies as leader, who happens to be unable to command and sustain the support of the

PLP in the House of Commons. If he is prime minister the Labour government must either fall, or the Queen, after taking soundings, must send for one or more Labour leaders and ask if they are prepared to form a government. A Labour Party conference could easily be quickly called to produce a name of some sort.

But then suppose that he or she cannot command a majority in the PLP, or indeed cannot rely on the willingness of leading Labour figures to serve in the cabinet. What happens then? The Queen would presumably send for the Opposition leader. The Labour government would go out, and a coalition would temporarily come in. How on earth would that work in some circumstances many of us have lived through?

And how would it work if party conference decisions became as the left wingers, Biblical writ? As Mr Reg Freeman, himself a left-winger, reminds me, it has not been at all unusual for party conference decisions to be overturned from one year to another, or for contradictory resolutions to be passed by the same party conference. To quote: "In 1959, conference was against unilateral nuclear disarmament. In 1960 it was in favour, and in 1961 it was against." Labour debate continues after party conference decisions, not least among MPs who have responsibilities to the nation and their party membership.

Another quotation: "In 1968/70 conference repeatedly endorsed the Labour government's statutory incomes policy, but some Labour MPs (the left-wingers) now denigrate the NEC imposed every Prices and Incomes Bill introduced. . . . In 1973, incomes policy was rejected, but a motion urged joint action by government and the trade union movement on low pay—that is an incomes policy." So writes Mr Reg Freeman.

In short, party conferences are weather vane, not practical day-to-day political decisions that must be treated as sacrosanct and mandatory upon a prime minister and his cabinet. They are not the whole of democracy, but only a part of it; and Mr Wedgwood Benn and Mr Eric Heffer, as they float over the feast of Mr Callaghan, are well aware that perfectly well. Yet Mr Callaghan is no longer the man to continue a battle he has already lost.

## The hunting of the Quango

From Mr David Hobman

Sir, As a member of two Quangos which have both been disbanded, I refuse to be made to feel guilty about being the expense of a usurper of Ministerial powers.

Indeed, until I began to read that I was a form of contemporary parasite, I was happily living in the mistaken belief that I was actually giving a form of service to my country, often in my own time or that of my generous employer.

As a member of the Meritocracy Board appointed by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer when he was responsible for Consumer Affairs, I was invited with others to tender advice on ways in which the transfer might best be achieved of the interests of everyone concerned.

It did not serve as an advocate for meritocracy, although it was in that context that the board was first attacked in a campaign to save the fees which most members could have commanded as consultants would have been considerably greater than anything received for services given through the Board and its specialist groups.

My other Quango, the Personal Social Services Council, paid nothing apart from travel and subsistence. Here again, I felt honoured to be associated with a group of men and women of distinction in their professions who gave most generously of their time and energy to a number of working parties which made far greater claims than simply attending council meetings. We were, in effect, that frequently commended species on which the fulfilment of many current social policies depends.

The Government may well have been right in believing there are too many Quangos. It is perfectly entitled to set up or close down any advisory bodies it wishes, and to appoint those people who seem most appropriate to serve as members.

However, it is mistaken to pillory those men and women who have given service to the state by describing the destruction of their work as being virtuous. They may be wrong some day. There is also the danger that a wildcat some at least of the Quangos have been closed down.

In the circumstances, the baby often gets thrown out with the bath water and as far as real economies are concerned, reduced expenditure of small above-the-line budgets can often be replaced by far higher alternative below-the-line costs which can more easily be lost from more immediate sight and which are actually less cost effective than the mechanisms they replace.

Yours etc,  
DAVID HOBMAN,  
Director,  
Age Concern England,  
60 Piccadilly Road,  
Museum,  
Surrey.  
January 17.

## The price of gas

From Mr Harry Marsh

Sir, Mr Michael Posner writes (Jan 23) in favour of the proposal to increase gas prices and states that the answer to the problem of poor families' inability to pay is for Government to spend more on social services.

But what does Mr Posner mean by "social services"? The usual provision of social services departments in the form of social workers and home helps are no substitute for a fuel subsidy. If Mr Posner equates "social services" with income maintenance then he must already be aware that the fuel allowance Government is allowing child benefits to be eroded by inflation, which is currently proposing to reform the social security system on a "no cost" basis and which has severely cut the fuel allowance of the previous Administration.

In any event, selective subsidies for the poor have a stigmatising effect. The solution to the problem is a differential tariff which would allow all domestic consumers a quantity of cheaper gas and electricity. Profligate users of energy can be charged considerably more when their allowance is exhausted and this would encourage conservation.

Finally, Mr Posner's suggestion that the cost of gas can be readily redistributed by taking a penny off income tax rates will be of no help to the poorer consumers of gas who do not pay income tax.

Yours faithfully,  
HARRY MARSH,  
Development Officer,  
Family Service Units,  
207 Old Marylebone Road, NW1.  
January 23.

## The Turner bequest

From Mr Humphrey Brooke

Sir, For over 70 years the housing of the Turner bequest at the Tate (report, January 22) should have offered no problem. The Tate (the late Sir John Tate) generously gave nine new galleries to the Tate for this specific purpose. The British Museum of all the 19,000 watercolours is a separate matter caused by the flooding of the Tate's basement in 1929.

Incidentally, much the best solution for Somerset House would be as a permanent home for Count Seltzer's internationally renowned collection. With an appropriate admission charge this project should be self-supporting. It has been suggested by Lord Annan and others.

Yours, etc,  
HUMPHREY BROOKE,  
8 Pelham Crescent, SW7.  
January 20.

## Ethnic questions in the 1981 Census

From Mr Jeff Crawford

Sir, Your rather excellent leading article (January 10) and subsequent letters only partly deal with the controversy surrounding the 1981 Census. The current debate is concerned on one question, racial or ethnic origin. Those of us who live or work in Harrogate found another five questions in the Harrogate Test Census even more objectionable than the ethnic question.

These questions, in fact, among other things, the year of entry into the United Kingdom; is the person naturalized or registered as a United Kingdom citizen; the name of the country which issued the passport on which the person last entered the United Kingdom; parents' country of birth, even if dead; address of place of work.

On February 24, 1979, a day-long seminar was jointly sponsored in Harrogate by the Commission for Racial Equality, Harrogate Community Relations Council, and the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS). There was strong representation from the local Asian, Cypriot and West Indian communities.

It was decided to form a working party, which produced a well-received report on the Harrogate questionnaire. The working party closely studied a number of related publications, which included the Government's White Paper on the Census, and the parliamentary select committee's report on race relations and immigration, session 1977-78.

We are convinced that the five questions, cited in the first paragraph of this letter, would be related to a number of looming political decisions, such as immigration controls and new nationality law. The select committee, session 1977-78, recommended that: (1) The Government should institute an independent inquiry to consider a system of internal controls of immigration.

## Links with Chile

From Mr Geoffrey Bindman

Sir, I visited Chile in March, 1979, as solicitor for the family of William Beausire, a dual citizen of Britain and Chile last seen in a torture centre there in August, 1975. No explanation had been given for his disappearance by the Chilean authorities but just before my visit the Supreme Court had appointed judges to investigate the Beausire case as well as many hundreds of other disappearances. There were other signs that the military Government was responding at last to international pressure for the restoration of human rights: the magazine *Oy* and a broadcasting station critical of torture were allowed to reopen and a group of democratic lawyers felt confident enough to enter into public debate about proposals for a new constitution.

This relaxation did not of course signify a change of policy, simply meant that the diplomatic and economic sanctions were beginning to bite; the Junta was acknowledging that Chile could not renew friendly relations with former allies and trading partners unless human rights were safeguarded and those responsible for torture and murder of innocent people were brought to justice.

Good relations with Britain are much more valued in Chile than is generally realized here, and particularly by the leaders of the armed forces, several of whom were trained in Britain. Leading Christian Democrats, who are likely to be included in a future democratic government in Chile, stressed to me the vital importance of maintaining sanctions from abroad, and the

(2) "The Home Secretary, in consultation with other departments, and in particular the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, should improve and enlarge the official information available on immigration."

(3) "The Government should give priority to their consideration of British nationality law, with a view to publishing a White Paper on their proposals."

These questions in mind that the address of each household is entered on the questionnaire, it becomes evident why there is such fear and resultant resentment. It is rather easy to extract a mass of racial data from these questions thus making it unnecessary to include an additional ethnic question.

If, however there is a genuine desire to measure the several different ethnic groups resident in the UK on Census day, the five objectionable questions should be completely dropped and replaced by a straightforward question asking to what ethnic or cultural group the respondent belongs.

Such a question has been readily accepted in other countries. I am convinced there would be minimal opposition, if any at all, if this request was fully met along with concrete guarantees of confidentiality being given through new legislation.

The poor response (54 per cent) to the Harrogate test is indicative of what would happen in 1981 if the Government does not positively respond to the fears and demands of the ethnic minorities and those who are similarly and equally concerned.

Yours faithfully,  
JEFF CRAWFORD,  
Senior Community Relations Officer,  
Harrogate Community Relations Council,  
144 Turnpike Lane, NB,  
January 21.

absence of the British Ambassador was one of the most important of these.

Since last May there has already been a noticeable reversion to earlier more repressive policies. The publication of *Oy* was suspended by decree of the Junta without warning. There has been a fresh spate of arrests by the security police and there is evidence of new tortures. It is far from fanciful to suppose that the election of a Tory government raised hopes that the ambassador would be returned, and now that his return has been announced the prospects for human rights in Chile can only be worse.

The Minister of State, Mr Nicholas Ridley, MP, has explicitly denied that the decision to restore the ambassador has anything to do with the improvement of trade. The only reason he gave for the decision, according to your parliamentary report, was that "we must present our views on human rights and other matters at a higher level with greater impact."

This is unconvincing. The embassy functions without the ambassador and the charge d'affaires, Mr Eric Anglin, took me to see the Minister of Justice, short notice and apparently without difficulty.

The British Government plainly believes in the effectiveness of a boycott against the Soviet Union. It is irrational and wrong to lift the effective boycott of Chile before it has achieved its object, for the torture and disappearance of William Beausire remain unexplained and unpunished.

Yours faithfully,  
GEOFFREY BINDMAN,  
1 Euston Road, NW1.

## Saving the Large Blue

From Mr John Lodge

Sir, The letter written by Mr Robin Crane (January 10), concerning my article "The secret flight of the Large Blue" (December 22) was shown to me on my return from a wildlife adventure expedition with our young members to Hampshire's historical New Forest.

It is sometimes said that conservation is not a subject for amateur dabbling, but my own scientific studies and the fact that the Large Blue butterfly, has only confirmed a belief in the importance of those with an interest which may be likened to that of the Reverend Gilbert White of Selborne.

I feel bound to say that I saw every reason why the substance of my work and information gained should not be divulged to either the Large Blue Committee or anyone else outside the British Wildlife Society. I look forward to the Large Blue butterfly, has only confirmed a belief in the importance of those with an interest which may be likened to that of the Reverend Gilbert White of Selborne.

As I looked briefly into those eyes of a child, I knew that I had to fight and fight again, not only to save the Large Blue, but everything that is the call of the wild. The promise I then made, has been kept, and this year I shall watch once more Britain's rarest butterfly take off on its majestic flight across the Cotswold Hills.

Finally, my work for the Large Blue butterfly, has not cost anyone a single penny, but the Society is anxious to obtain further butterfly equipment, books etc, for our continued studies in the science and conservation of British lepidoptera and other forms of wildlife.

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN LODGE,  
Founder,  
The British Wildlife Society,  
Wildflowerers,  
Tarka,  
London Road,  
Maiden,  
Essex.  
January 21.

## Economic decline

From Professor Lord Kaldor, FBA

Sir, If Professor Hutchison (January 18) really believes that the Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1875 were the main cause of Britain's relative decline in the latter part of the 19th Century, he cannot be familiar with the extensive literature on the subject. I would particularly recommend to his attention Professor Aldcroft's seminal paper, *The Entrepreneur and the British Economy, 1870-1914*, which appeared in the August 1964 issue of the *Economic History Review*; to Professor David Landes' monumental study in Vol VI of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (now republished under the title *The Unbound Prometheus*); to Professor G. C. Allen's *The British Disease* (1976); to Professor Margaret Gowing's Wilkins lecture to

the Royal Society, published in the *Oxford Review of Education*, 1978; and to Professor Roderick's *Economic and Industry in the Nineteenth Century* published last year. All these attribute our decline mainly to the limited technical competence and extreme conservatism of British industrial management.

Incidentally, Lord Balogh and Mr Opie (letter, January 15) were mistaken in placing the beginning of Britain's relative economic decline in the 1880s. According to Professor Landes, the beginning should be put in the 1850s and 1860s; and according to Professor Gowing, by the time of the Great Paris Exhibition of 1875, Britain appeared prominent in "scarcely a dozen" out of the 90 classes at the Exhibition.

Yours faithfully,  
NICHOLAS KALDOR,  
King's College,  
Cambridge.

## How Eisenhower viewed Churchill

From Mr Anthony Seldon

Sir, The headline treatment given to the "revelations" from the Eisenhower papers (January 26) gives an entirely misleading impression of Eisenhower's relationship with Churchill, and of the Anglo-American relationship during 1951-55. It is just not good enough to quote passages at random which, incidentally, come from Eisenhower's diary, not memoranda, and which have been accessible to scholars for some time.

Eisenhower felt that Churchill should retire: this is certainly true, but he was at all times devoted to him, and treated him with great respect. Eisenhower's staff were frequently concerned lest Churchill's great influence over him should persuade the President to adopt a course of action against his better judgment.

The article greatly exaggerates the extent to which Eisenhower's opinion of Churchill adversely affected relations between Britain and the United States. There were, of course, differences between the two countries as over questions of colonialism, and on policy towards the Far East; but the bond remained deep, and of great value to both nations during Churchill's last years as Prime Minister.

Yours faithfully,  
ANTHONY SELDON,  
3c Morphet Terrace, SW1.  
January 26.

## Invasion of Afghanistan

From Mr David Stevenson

Sir, I am surprised to read in Robert Fisk's *Afghanistan Diary* today (January 23) the reference to "G. A. Henry's grotesquely partial accounts of the Anglo-Afghan wars that misled us all".

I can only conclude that Robert Fisk has not read either *For Name and Fame*, *To Herat and Kabul*. Certainly the books are written from British eyes; however, frequent tributes to the Afghans are paid.

Considering that they were written before 1900 for schoolboys, the absence of jingoism is remarkable. For example, in the preface to the account of the 1842 war: "Of all the wars in which our troops have taken part never was one entered upon so recklessly or so unjustifiably as this, and on the Roberts expedition: 'It is true that we have warred with and beaten them, but our retirement after victory has at least shown them that we have no desire to take their country; while, on the other hand, they know that upon their Russia has once laid her hand there is no escape.'"

Readers will find Henry's accounts of the Afghans more relevant to today's events than Mr Fisk's tales of kites and wuns.

Russians have demonstrated once again the peril in ignoring the lessons of history which Henry was pre-eminently writing for the Victorian schoolboy.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID STEVENSON,  
20 Upper Phillimore Gardens, W8.  
January 23.

## Poll apart

From Mr Jacques Arnold

Sir, The ORC poll you commissioned on the voters' mood (report, January 17) fell into the elementary trap of phrasing a major question in such a way as to make the answer almost a foregone conclusion. It asked whether a party should gain seats in proportion to the votes it receives. Surprisingly, even such a self-evident question only obtained affirmative replies from 72 per cent of the respondents.

Had you asked the respondents whether they gave importance to regional variations, candidates' personal votes, and local representation, you would no doubt have also received affirmative replies.

However these attributes of our present system would be sacrificed for the brutal arithmetic of proportional representation systems. The two questions would bring contradictory replies. As would the affirmative to the mythical questions as to whether respondents are for cuts in taxes, and for increased welfare spending by government.

The only overwhelming conclusion one can draw from the poll is that the electorate prefers no centre party to any particular form of one. It would not abandon its vote of party allegiances for one, nor for the Liberals, and it would not like to see the Labour Party break up. Nevertheless it is concerned at the leftward lurch of the Labour Party, and the trade union power therein.

Your poll strongly suggests that public disquiet is not so much with the present party and electoral system, as with the Labour Party's internal structure. Obviously, self-congratulatory obviousness and spineless acquiescence of the Labour moderates in the past decade.

Yours faithfully,  
JACQUES ARNOLD,  
Hawthorn Road,  
Oundle,  
Northamptonshire.  
January 21.

## Various tendencies

From Mrs Nancy Irwin

Sir, Has *The Times* been infiltrated by Militant? Your current stories of "Trotskyist infiltration" are scarcely the acme of investigative journalism, for they appear simply to spring from the self-congratulatory obviousness of Militant handouts have to say Militant is successful or their members would not keep handing over money.

The reality is somewhat different in Labour Parties of my experience: although Militant supporters are not, admittedly, quite so lazy as those of the extreme right wing, the main "Militant tendency" I have noticed is absence when there is work to be done, technique unlikely to lead to office in the Labour Party, let alone control.

Yours faithfully,  
NANCY IRWIN,  
11 Chisholm Road,  
Croydon.  
January 17.







# THE TIMES

## BUSINESS NEWS

Britains trade  
since  
entering the  
EEC, p 17

Leisure  
industry is  
growing  
fast, p 16

- **Stock markets**  
FT Index 452.4  
FT Gilt 67.78
- **Sterling**  
\$2.2640  
Index 71.9
- **Dollar**  
Index 84.9
- **Gold**  
\$660 an ounce
- **Money**  
3 mth £ 171.171  
3 mth Euro-£ 14.141  
6 mth Euro-£ 14.141  
Friday's close

### IN BRIEF

## Retail plea for building tax relief

Extension of industrial building tax relief to construction developments by the retail trade is being urged on the Chancellor of the Exchequer by the Retail Consortium.

The move to bring this sector into the industrial property development relief, which allows a 10 per cent annual allowance for allowances is also supported by the Confederation of British Industry. But the CBI wants allowances for all commercial property, starting with an 8 per cent initial allowance, followed by 8 per cent annual write-downs of the balance of costs.

In 1978 allowances were conceded to the hotel industry because of its contribution to tourism earnings — although with a 10 per cent initial allowance compared with manufacturing's 50 per cent.

### Jobs 'sure to go'

Weir, the Glasgow-based engineering group, has told its 8,500 employees that further redundancies "will almost certainly be unavoidable" during the coming year because of "rough" business conditions.

Viscount Weir, the group chairman, blames the 1979 national engineering strike, which was "utterly irresponsible and caused permanent damage".

### £55m Paris sale

French chemical and engineering conglomerate Rhone Poulenc has sold its Paris headquarters complex for £500m (£55m) to Banque Arabe et Internationale d'Investissement, acting for private Kuwaiti investors, and Banque Privée de Gestion Financière.

Richard Ellis acted for Rhone Poulenc.

### Meccano plant vote

A decision on whether to allow representatives of Airfix Industries into the Meccano toy works at Edge Hill, Liverpool, will be taken at a meeting today by 840 workers occupying the plant. Shop stewards will recommend they should give some managers access to the records.

### Membership increase

Membership of the Article Number Association, which administers barcoding of shop goods in preparation for laser scanning at retail checkouts, has jumped 30 per cent in three months to 422 and is expected to rise further.

### Strike spread feared

An unofficial strike on the Mersey, which started when 234 shoregang men walked off on Friday night continued throughout the weekend without any apparent escalation. But employers fear the stoppage, over redundancy payments, could spread today.

### £13.5m contracts

Gleeson Group has won 11 contracts worth nearly £13.5m, including foundations for the BP Desalter plant at Grange-mouth and extensions to the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden.

### Oil price rise

Angola's oil ministry has announced a \$5.94 per barrel price increase for Cabinda crude, backdated to January 1. Angolan oil will now sell at \$31.79 a barrel.

### Indian gas find

India has located a natural gas field in the Arabian Sea, north of Bombay, Mr P. C. Sethi, Petroleum and Chemicals Minister, announced. More tests will determine the potential.

### Kuwait oil curbs

Kuwait is joining other Opec nations to limit severely the ability of customers to resell, exchange or trade its crude oil in an attempt to direct the flow of oil to end users and to cash in on any price rises from spot-oriented resales.

## CBI presses for tougher law on closed shops

By Patricia Tisdall  
Management Correspondent

Management organisations are attempting to get Whitehall to tighten the provisions for allowing and the closed shop contained in the Employment Bill. They argue that the Government could go further, because of developments in the steel strike and the hardening of attitudes to trade union activity expressed in *The Times* survey of opinions last week.

In its latest submissions to the Department of Employment, the Confederation of British Industry is seeking changes that would ensure new closed shops being introduced only if approved by a majority of employees in a ballot.

The Bill proposes that an individual dismissed for non-union membership after a new closed shop had been introduced could be entitled to compensation if no ballot had taken place. CBI dissidents argue that even the maximum compensation provides no effective deterrent to a determined trade union.

They say that belated recognition that a ballot is not an absolute requirement before closed shops are set up has caused a toughening in businessmen's attitudes to the Bill.

In a formal commentary on the Bill the CBI is seeking further safeguards. It is asking for legislation to provide that a term in the contract of employment, requiring union membership as the result of a new closed shop agreement, should be void and unenforceable unless the agreement has been approved in a ballot by the statutory majority.

Other organisations want more radical changes. The Institute of Directors is asking for an amendment to test existing closed shop agreements by ballot every five years. It also wants to give minority groups of workers the right to call a ballot in given circumstances in the same way that a minority of shareholders can seek an overall expression of views.

Amendments relating to secondary picketing are also being requested. The IOD considers that the existing provisions of the Bill would do very little to prevent the unreasonable extension of picketing which is at present occurring. In its view, employers facing second-



Lord Gower: law is being reviewed.

ary picketing should have the right to sue trade unions as well as individual picketers.

In addition to seeking amendments to the Bill, the directors are asking the Government for a commitment to tackle trade union immunities in general.

Plans to introduce some form of legislation on these immunities are already well advanced, Lord Gower, Minister for Employment, told a meeting of the Institute of Personnel Managers last week that the Government is reviewing the law, and that it expects to publish a discussion paper shortly and will then consult with interested bodies.

It was clear from what Lord Gower said that action on immunities is regarded as a subject for separate legislation rather than as an item which could be incorporated in the Employment Bill.

Industrialists who have been lobbying backbench Tory members of the Select Committee on the Bill which had its first meeting last Thursday say that their views were heard sympathetically. However, the indications are that the Government does not want to antagonise the trade unions by making any radical changes in the proposals at this stage.

It is clear that practical reality dictates a piecemeal and cautious approach to changes in industrial relations legislation rather than attempting to incorporate all the reforms it desires in a single law.

## Inflation a threat to engineering — employers

By Peter Hill

Continued inflation at present levels, roughly twice the rate of other major industrialised nations, threatens to destroy much of the United Kingdom engineering industry, the Government was warned today.

The claim, made by the Engineering Employers' Federation (EEF), whose 6,500 member companies employ about 2,000,000 workers, was contained in Budget submissions to Sir Geoffrey Howe, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The EEF said it firmly believed that the current approach to the economy was correct, but it gave a warning that the future of the engineering sector was heavily dependent on the Government's ability to control the twin evils of continuing high inflation and excessive public spending.

Present controls in public spending "lead to cuts in capital expenditure, rises in the price for goods and services supplied by the public, to the private sector, and reductions in the quality of service," said the EEF. Cuts, it suggested, should be concentrated on current or revenue expenditure, and should be accompanied by increased efficiency.

The EEF view is that current public expenditure will not be cut while public sector wage and salary levels are maintained — largely as a result of the work of the Clegg Commission — at faster rates than the private sector can afford and public sector productivity improvements.

The EEF singled out for particular mention the enormous cost of paying index-linked pensions to public sector employees which, it argued, only served to fuel inflation. It intends to make a separate and detailed submission on pension matters later.

The EEF urged further progress in eliminating the "poverty trap", and called for further reduction of taxation at the lower end of the scale and the taxing of social security benefits.

It also asked the Chancellor to rationalise VAT payment systems and to reduce the National Insurance surcharge. The EEF called on the Government to honour its commitment to abolish Capital Transfer Tax.

## Revenue investigates £20m frauds

By John Huxley

Inland Revenue officials are investigating 37 cases of suspected tax abuse in the building industry, involving payments of £20m. They relate to misuse of the controversial 714 certificate issued under the construction industry tax deduction scheme to sub-contractors.

Inquiries are continuing, but Revenue officers say that "very large sums" are involved in some cases. Main representative organisations of the industry are being called in to discuss ways in which loopholes in the scheme can be closed.

Ironically, the present scheme was introduced in 1975 (and came into force in 1977) largely to prevent tax abuses associated with the "lump". Earlier measures had failed to prevent a serious loss of revenue.

Despite a six-fold increase in prosecutions between 1973 and 1977, fraud and other serious irregularities became widespread in the construction industry.

The Inland Revenue estimated tax losses at between £10m and £100m a year and said there was "some reason to believe that the figure may have been nearer the upper than the lower end of the scale".

The scheme, now under review, tightened up the law. It is a complicated set of arrangements aimed at ensuring that builders meet their tax and National Insurance obligations by the issue of certificates and the exchange of vouchers (similar to receipts) for payments made.

The industry, led by the National Federation of Building Trades Employers (NFBE), has argued that these arrangements impose a harsh bureaucratic and financial burden on companies which can cause personal hardship.

A consultative paper produced by the Inland Revenue, now being made available to the industry, accepts that the system imposes a heavy administrative cost and that some requirements, such as the quali-

tying conditions for obtaining certificates, sometimes produce indefensibly harsh results.

However, it concludes: "The highly mobile nature of the workforce and the history of past abuse suggests that some sort of arrangement for deduction of tax at source will continue to be necessary in the construction industry. It is a way of moving to ease certification. There are serious objections. The sub-contractor's certificate is a valuable document. In the wrong hands a certificate, even with a six months' validity, could be used to shelter from tax very large sums of money indeed." It adds that certificates change hands at high prices.

Tax abuses now being investigated are alleged to have exploited loopholes in the certificate scheme, one of which freed companies from the inconvenience of applying for a certificate carrying a photograph, which had to be presented personally.

The NFBE is now studying the paper, but it has already welcomed the Inland Revenue view that the jurisdiction of the Appeal Commissioners should be extended to all matters covering the issue of certificates.

The employers are also pleased by the proposed relaxation in the three-year rule, which requires applicants for a certificate to have been employed or self-employed in the United Kingdom throughout the whole of the three years preceding the application and to have met tax obligations during that time.

The Inland Revenue says experience has shown that the rule is too tightly drawn, because it prevented those who had been ill or temporarily off work for a month or so from obtaining a certificate.

Mr Peter Rees, Minister of State for the Treasury, said that, after consultations, the Government intended to introduce legislation to amend the present scheme.

## Scrutiny of Whitehall spending is criticized

By Kenneth Owen

Technology Editor

The National Enterprise Board has decided to continue its selective support for the United Kingdom computer software industry through its Insac Products subsidiary. Indeed, in the near future, the Insac operations may be expanded to embrace the products of non-member companies, though no decision has yet been taken on this.

The board has also not yet decided whether the proposed disposal of the private sector of the NEB shareholding in Systems Programming Holdings, parent of the SPL software house, is in the best interests of the nation or of the company.

Following the recent troubles within Insac—two resignations from the Insac board; the proposed SPL disposal; and the danger that Logica, another member company, might also withdraw from Insac—the NEB is now re-examining its relationship with Insac and its members.

An important question is whether to change the basis of the Insac business to include the marketing—and, significantly, selected development support—of the software products of non-member companies.

Insac needs a wider portfolio of products than can be provided by the existing members. When the NEB subsidiary was originally set up in 1977, the hope was that there would be more members (more, that is, than the present five) and hence more proposals for Insac-backed products.

This reporting should identify what the policy objectives were; the progress towards them; the resources available; what resources have been allocated to them. The reports should also contain, if possible, a commentary describing the main factors which had affected the level of achievement.

The accountants claim that value-for-money auditing, based on the management systems approach, would help to rationalize priorities and ensure that money for controls was spent on the highest priority risks.

However, the accountants maintain that the changes recommended should be adopted as long-term objectives rather than as immediate requirements on the head of the Exchequer and Audit Department, the Comptroller and Auditor General. They say that the Comptroller and Auditor General should remain independent, not only of the Government, but also of the parliamentary committees to which he reports.

The memorandum is submitted on behalf of the councils of the accountancy bodies in the United Kingdom: the Institutes of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; the Association of Certified Accountants; the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants; and the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy.

## NEB may broaden range of support in software industry

By Kenneth Owen

Technology Editor

The present basis—providing, say, five projects a year, one from each company—is not sufficient to give a viable business. It is therefore virtually certain that non-member companies will be allowed to participate in Insac operations in the near future.

But the problem will be to devise a structure that will enable non-members' products to be marketed abroad under the Insac umbrella, while preserving the special status of the members and the overall stability of the NEB/Insac/members framework.

On the question of the NEB's holding in Systems Programming Holdings, the disposal of which was proposed by Mr Peter Adams, SPL managing director, the board is now discussing whether this would be in the national interest, and in the interest of the company.

If the NEB does agree to dispose of its SPL shares, it is obliged to offer them first to the other shareholder, NDC Systems, a privately-owned company registered in Geneva. Until it has decided whether or not to favour the disposal on principle, the NEB is not discussing any possible selling price.

Insac's revised corporate plan, following the recent separation of its viewdata operations into a separate company, has been approved by the Insac board, but has not yet been considered by the NEB. This is expected within the next two months. In the meantime the NEB is continuing to seek further potential Insac members.

### Volvo sales

Volvo group sales during 1979 are estimated at 13,400m Swedish kroner (£2,488m), an increase of 22 per cent over sales of 19,133m kr in 1978. Sales in the fourth quarter of 1979 were 6,600m kr compared with 5,522m kr

### Brick stocks rise

Brick production in Britain during December totalled 327 million and deliveries 288 million. Stocks rose by 39 million to 571 million, representing six weeks' production. Output for the third quarter of last year was the same as for 1978.

## No reserve role for the D-mark

From Peter Norman

Brussels, Jan 27

The West German Federal Bank has extended the scope of its "gentleman's agreement" with German banks designed to prevent the emergence of the Deutsche mark as a reserve currency.

The banks have agreed that their subsidiaries in Luxembourg should no longer offer new issues of Deutsche mark promissory notes with maturities of five years or less to foreign investors. Banks will not offer non-residents promissory notes that have already been issued if they have less than four years to run.

The Federal bank has therefore closed a loophole in its restrictions designed to prevent non-residents speculating in short-term Deutsche-mark securities. The promissory notes issued in question are usually offered privately to large scale investors and are not quoted publicly on stock exchanges.

Domestic issues of bonds and money market paper of less than four years life have been barred to foreign investors for some years, while in February 1979 the Federal bank stopped public bond issues by German banks in Luxembourg.

The German Eurobanks have also already agreed not to issue securities or transferable certificates of deposit.

This latest move by the Federal bank shows that the German monetary authorities are still extremely reluctant to see any extension of the reserve currency role of the Deutsche mark. If there is to be a move towards a multi-currency reserve system, they believe it should happen in an orderly fashion rather than a haphazard fashion.

For the German banks in Luxembourg, the latest restrictions will inevitably mean a loss of business opportunities at a time when profits are coming under pressure.

But it would appear that the banks still have some breathing space as far as the bigger issue of controlling the Euromarkets is concerned.

Swing into deficit, page 17

## Currency dealers face 'fixing' charge

From Our United States

Economics Correspondent

Washington, Jan 27

The United States Department of Justice has filed a suit in the District Court in New York that will not only worry many foreign exchange dealers, but also could have wide-ranging implications for the way in which the currency markets function.

The department has charged the Forex Association of North America (FOREX) and the Foreign Exchange Brokers Association (FEBEA), both based in New York, with seeking to "fix, maintain and stabilize the commissions paid for brokers' services in the trading of foreign exchange and Eurocurrency contracts in violation of America's anti-trust laws."

The complaint asserts that FOREX and FEBEA acted in such a way that they "restrained, suppressed and eliminated competition."

FOREX consists of representatives from bankers, brokers and others involved in the foreign exchange and Eurocurrency business and to some extent it is little more than a club. FEBEA is the association for brokers in the currency

markets. The Justice Department says that these organizations conspired with others, but it does not name any individuals or corporations in its complaint.

In fact the complaint contains so little detail that its aim is by no means clear. If the department really wanted to ensure that any form of commission rate fixing in the currency business ceased, then it would probably have named individuals, banks and brokerage houses, rather than just a couple of associations that do no trading at all.

Mr Mark Liddy, one of the department's senior lawyers involved in the case, said that the aim was to serve warning to all those involved in the currency markets that fixing commissions is viewed as a serious anti-trust violation.

Justice Department officials believe that the same complicated price fixing debates may have taken place within FOREX's executive and its market practices committees and within FEBEA's board of governors.

The U.S. Cost and Management accountants' department alleges that price-fixing has been going on since early 1971 at least.

## Delay in setting up IMF alternative could spark crisis

### The danger of dumping dollars

A merchant banker, on the telephone from London the other day, was considering the possibility of a dollar crisis.

"The danger now is that a dollar crisis will start because some big holders may decide to diversify their assets," he said. "The amount of dollars overhauling the markets is vast."

The banker had called to discover what is happening to the International Monetary Fund's plan for a Substitution Account. He said the plan could dampen speculation that Arab oil producers may dump dollars on the market. This year, Arab investment funds are set to rise by about \$1,000m (£440m) every four days.

The IMF plan, proposed more than a year ago by M. Jacques De Larosiere, envisaged the creation of an IMF account into which central banks could place dollars and receive in exchange a new asset, tied in value to the Special Drawing Right and offering an attractive rate of interest. The plan could enhance the importance of the Special Drawing Right, but more importantly according to

bankers, it could safeguard the currency markets.

Mr De Larosiere had hoped that the plan would be approved by the IMF's interim committee of finance ministers last October, but technical squabbles prevented it. Last week Mr De Larosiere said in a speech that "I hope that when the interim committee meets in Hamburg in April, the remaining questions on the design of this account can be resolved."

His hopes are about to be dashed once again. The plan will not be agreed upon in April. The ever-cautious Mr Anthony Solomon, Under-Secretary of the United States Treasury for monetary affairs, said: "I would doubt that such a complicated set of discussions and characteristics will be agreed upon by the next IMF meeting."

Officials are reluctant to talk about why the plan has proved so difficult to complete. One problem concerns the best means of providing the account with some financial reserves in case of foreign exchange losses.

Mr Solomon said there was talk of using some of the IMF's gold as backing. The

banker who called me from London was most interested in this—hardly surprising, given the state of the bullion market.

Some officials are worried that it might be an admission that gold must play a key official monetary role and that developing countries will protest if IMF gold reserves are used in this manner.

It appears the Substitution Account will not be operating for months, so if any central bank in the Middle East or elsewhere, wants to reduce its dollar holdings, it will have to use the markets. This may mean tremendous pressures on the foreign exchanges.

Senior United States economic policy officials admit there is a danger of a crisis, and it would have been helpful to have the Substitution Account operating.

But they assert that confidence is being generated by the Federal Reserve Board's tougher monetary stance, by the improved health of the United States current account, and by the increased determination of President Carter to cut oil imports.

Frank Vogel  
in Washington

## Dobson Park "Extremely satisfactory"



Group Sales for 1978/79 amounted to £142,200,000 an increase of 8% over the previous year. Group profits, before taxation and extraordinary items, increased by £448,000 to a figure of £24,223,000. These results were achieved in the face of exceptional interruptions of production caused by the industrial disputes of last winter and the demanding nature of engineering orders during the last two months of our financial year. The level of profit in the light of the considerable difficulties must be considered as extremely satisfactory and again reflects great credit on our management and employees.

Review of Year  
The people who work for Dobson Park can be proud of their achievements during the past year and there is certainly no doubt that the Group's future is bright. During a year of exceptional difficulties we were successful in increasing our total output by 28% to an amount of £24.2m. It is all our firm intention to expand our overseas sales and earnings next year, further investments have been made in overseas facilities. In the future, in spite of all the many difficulties that lie ahead, we shall be able to maintain our good record.

firm predictions about the current financial year. The year has started well with full production in Mining Machinery and Kump and with the recovery in other areas being maintained. The future for the world oil industry looks as good as ever in view of the worries over oil supplies and we are determined to maintain our high position in the world-wide market. I feel that, in spite of all the many difficulties that lie ahead, we shall be able to maintain our good record.

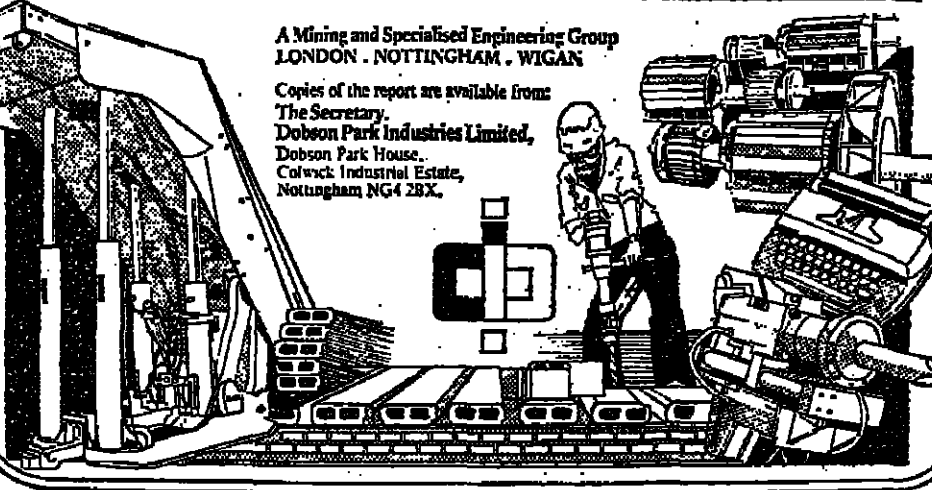
C.E. Ward, Chairman

### Summary of Results

	1978	1979
World Sales to third parties	142.2	142.2
Sales in the United Kingdom	142.2	142.2
Sales Overseas	37.9	37.9
Profit before Taxation	44.5	44.5
Attributable to shareholders	8.1	8.1

### Earnings per share

	1978	1979
Gross Equivalent dividend	21.5	21.5
Dividend per share	4.5	4.5
Ordinary Shareholders funds	84.5	84.5



A Mining and Specialised Engineering Group

LONDON, NOTTINGHAM, WIGAN

Copies of the report are available from:

The Secretary

Dobson Park Industries Limited,

Dobson Park House,

Colwick Industrial Estate,

Nottingham NG4 2BX.

### THE POUND

	Bank buys	Bank sells	Bank buys	Bank sells
Australia \$	2.11	2.11	11.55	11.55
Canada \$	2.11	2.11	11.55	11.55
Denmark Kr	16.46	16.46	11.55	11.55
France Fr	6.55	6.55	11.55	11.55
Germany DM	2.36	2.36	11.55	11.55
Italy Lira	1936.27	1936.27	11.55	11.55
Japan Yen	336.00	336.00	11.55	11.55
Netherlands Gld	3.76	3.76	11.55	11.55
Norway Kr	13.48	13.48	11.55	11.55
Portugal Esc	200.48	200.48	11.55	11.55
South Africa Rd	1.48	1.48	11.55	11.55
Spain Ptas	166.37	166.37	11.55	11.55
Sweden Kr	9.46	9.46	11.55	11.55
Switzerland Fr	2.00	2.00	11.55	11.55
USA \$	2.36	2.36	11.55	11.55
Yugoslavia Ddr	53.00	53.00	11.55	11.55

rates for bank interbank business are supplied by Barclays Bank International, Citibank and other foreign currency business.



## FINANCIAL NEWS AND MARKET REPORTS

## Reed BAT and Trident TV

Blue chip stocks feature strongly among companies reporting this week, with second-half profits from BAT and a third-quarter report from the giant paper group, Reed International.

Trident Television is also reporting and should prove interesting in view of the battle now being fought by television companies for the renewal of the independent television franchise.

Significant economic indicators within the next five days are fairly thin on the ground, but on Thursday there are the final unemployment figures for December from the Department of Employment, followed by the report on days lost through industrial disputes and finally the energy trends from the Department of Energy.

Full-year figures from Trident Television on Tuesday will indicate just how damaging the 11-week technicians' strike has been for the television companies. An early estimate has now been lowered from £91m to £75m against £91m last year. With much of the group's profits coming from overseas, currency exchange rates will play a large part in the final outcome.

A 30 per cent devaluation of the cruzeiro earlier this year will also play an important part now that BAT holds 80 per cent of the Brazilian tobacco market. Nevertheless, tobacco should have made less of a contribution overall this year as the group's diversification programme begins to bite. The paper side should now chip in with about 20 per cent of operating profits, with the retail division contributing in profits of about 7 per cent.

Also on Tuesday come the third-quarter profits from Reed International, which should show a healthy rise due to a good, all-round performance.

Estimates range from £75m to £80m for the nine months to September 30, compared with £61.3m for the corresponding period. Most of the group's major divisions are currently enjoying improved trading conditions which should also reflect the buoyant conditions of the North American newspaper market, where several substantial price rises have now filtered through.

These figures are unlikely to be affected by the recent sale of its Dryden mill operations which will now show up in the final quarter. A downturn is anticipated in the final quarter, but analysts believe that the group should still exceed £100m for the full year against £95.8m. Recent sales by the group are now thought to have reduced the company's gearing from over 200 per cent to less than 40 per cent of shareholders' funds.

Second-half profits from BAT



Mr Alexander Jarratt, chairman of Reed.



Mr P. Sheehy, chairman of BAT.

Industries on Wednesday could well prove to be confusing as they have now changed year-ends. Therefore, this period now covers fifteen months from September, 1978, to December 31.

Estimates range from £448m to £480m against £381m last year. With much of the group's profits coming from overseas, currency exchange rates will play a large part in the final outcome.

A 30 per cent devaluation of the cruzeiro earlier this year will also play an important part now that BAT holds 80 per cent of the Brazilian tobacco market. Nevertheless, tobacco should have made less of a contribution overall this year as the group's diversification programme begins to bite. The paper side should now chip in with about 20 per cent of operating profits, with the retail division contributing in profits of about 7 per cent.

## This week

Little so far is known about profits from investments which last year contributed 12 per cent of operating profits.

Observers are reluctant to make any prediction for the remaining three months, owing to seasonal elements.

Finally, on Wednesday, there are interim profits from Associated Dairies, which were delayed owing to the acquisition of Wades Departmental Stores and Allied Carports.

A healthy rise in pre-tax profits is expected which, after deducting acquisition costs, are pitched at around £21.5m against £15.1m this time last year.

The superstores' operations are thought to have continued the good start they made to the year and should contribute profits of around £18m. However, the non-foods side will

show the problems encountered by most chain stores, although some improvement is still anticipated.

Hopes for the second half, though, do not look so bright as the recent fall in consumer spending will have begun to take hold.

**TODAY**—Interims—Ashley Industrial Trust, Cantors, Country and New Town Properties, Ellis and Everard, Estates Property Investment, Midland Trust, Neepsend and Stirling Knitting, Finals—Braid Group, Brentnall Beard, Burroughs Machines and Kuala Lumpur Kepong Berhad.

**TOMORROW**—Interims—Christie-Tyler, Grimshaw Holdings, Henderson-Kenton, Rosgill (Holdings) and Worthington (A.J.), Finals—IDC Group, Prestige, Trident Television and Vantage Secs.

**WEDNESDAY**—Interims—Associated Dairies, BAT Industries (12 months' figs), Daejan Holdings, Manton Finance Trust, Stewart Plastics and Syltone. Finals—Allied Textile, Bank Leumi (UK), Pratt (F) Eng., and Throgmorton Trust.

**THURSDAY**—Interims—Armour Trust, City of London Brewery and Invest, Garford-Lilly Inds., Hambro Trust, Longton, Newmark (Louis), Portsmouth and Sunderland Newspapers (9 months), Reardon Smith Line, Stoddard Holdings and Textured Jersey. Finals—Blundell, Permoglaze Holdings and Hill and Smith.

**FRIDAY**—Interims—Gaunt (Rowland), ML Holdings, Town and City Props. and Wholesale Fittings. Finals—Evode Holdings and Radley Fashion.

Michael Clark

## From Johannesburg

The gold mining industry—and holders of gold mining shares—are faintly hoping that the budget which South African finance minister Senator Owen Horwood will present to Parliament on March 26 will bring some relief from the punitive taxation which is currently skimming the cream off the top of the gold price boom. In many cases the state is taking about 70 per cent of the additional profits which the soaring bullion price has been earning for the better grade gold producers.

But these are indeed very faint hopes. For many years now, the gold mining industry has been the milch cow which has provided the Treasury with a major part of its revenue. It is the largest single source of tax with the added advantage from the minister's point of view that it is voteless—but not voiceless. For years industry leaders have urged an easing of the gold mines' tax rate but these pleas have gone unheeded because the revenue which gold generates for the treasury is usually directed to areas which carry more practical political weight.

## Mining

Lower taxes and more generous capital allowances, it is claimed, would encourage the mines and the mining houses to spend additional money on exploration and to venture risk capital on prospects offering only marginal possibilities of success. But these pleas have made no impression. The argument that revenue temporarily lost might be regained from subsequent tax on mines yet to come has fallen on deaf ears. As far as the Treasury is concerned tax in the hand is worth more than possible tax still buried in the ground.

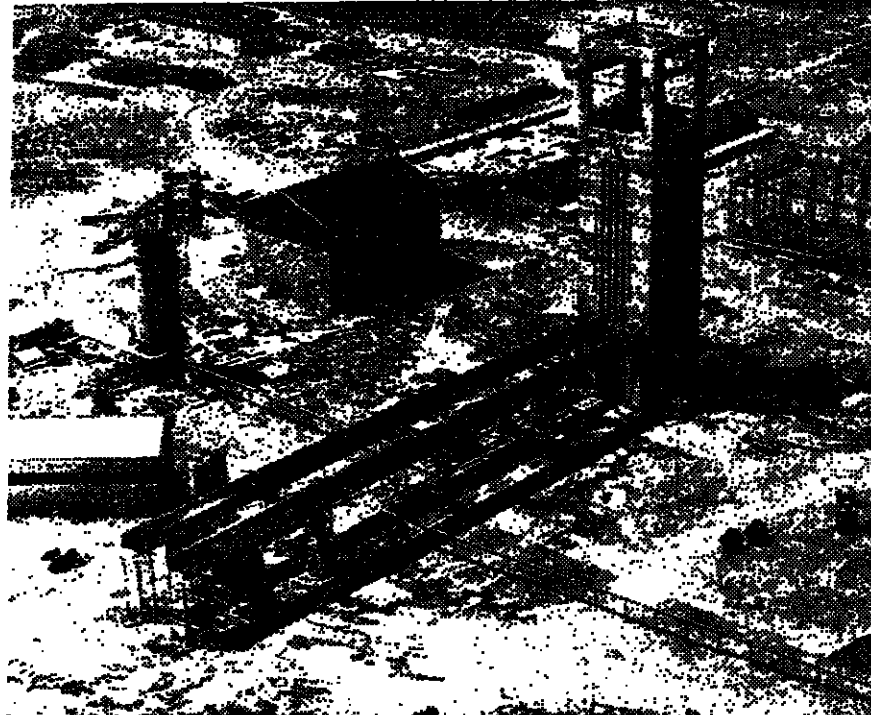
Gold mines—indeed most mines—pay two types of impost to the Treasury. The one is a lease payment which was originally designed as a capital contribution to the state to compensate for the exhaustion of a natural resource and was supposed to be reinvested in new capital assets for future generations—a philosophy which has been overlooked during the years.

The other tax is an income tax on a formula basis which provides for a sliding scale: the lower the profitability, the smaller the percentage of tax, but the higher the profit, the larger will be the state's share. On top of formula tax comes the 5 per cent surcharge on tax payable and a loan levy which is 10 per cent of tax payable.

The authorities do not regard the loan levy as a tax because it is repaid after seven years and bears a nominal rate of interest. But as far as the mining companies are concerned it has the same effect as tax because it is money which is unavailable in the year earned either for distribution to shareholders or for capital expenditure.

Lease payments vary from mine to mine according to the government mining experts' original assessment of the richness of the property. If borehole exploration suggests that the lease area is rich, the formula is set to enable the Treasury to grab a sizable haul of the largesse. If the possibilities are that a property is medium to lower

## Why gold mines are hoping for tax cuts



Free State Geduld, the mine with the highest recorded lease formula.

grade, the lease formula is adjusted downwards.

The highest lease formula on record is that which applies to Free State Geduld in the Orange Free State. The boreholes were rich and the state's grab was correspondingly large. But a few boreholes are not true indication as Free State Sasiplaas, Lorraine and Fredries proved. In recent years, however, the state has been more realistic, tending to standardize the rate at an average level of 15 per cent.

The average lease formula is as follows:

Payments are Y per cent, which equals  $17 - (102 \text{ divided by } X)$  where X equals taxable income divided by total revenue expressed as a percentage.

In simple and approximate average terms this means that lease payments can reach a maximum of about 16 per cent of taxable income.

Taxable income is net income less capital expenditure and any capital allowances which are due. Ironically, lease payments are considered as being tax deductible.

The average tax formula, too, is unnecessarily complicated. It is:

Tax =  $Y \text{ per cent}$  where Y equals  $60X (360 \text{ divided by } X)$  where X equals taxable income divided by total revenue expressed as a percentage.

Brush aside all this algebra, what the two formulae effectively mean is that no payments are made by marginal mines when their taxable income is 6 per cent or less of total revenue. On the other hand it seems to great heights when the taxable income is large.

For example it reaches a theoretical maximum when X equals 100 per cent, that is when taxable income equals total revenue. In such a case tax would equal 56.4 per cent, tax and surcharge and loan levy would go up to 64.9 per cent, and tax plus surcharge plus loan levy plus average lease consideration would be 69.8 per cent. And it could be marginally higher, depending on the variation of the numbers in the least formulae.

In essence these maximum tax rates are also the marginal rates which the



Senator Owen Horwood, South Africa's Finance Minister.

mines are paying on any additional revenue received from a higher gold price. It is only because most mines are currently embarking on large capital expenditure projects—to increase production, to increase efficiencies to extend mining areas—that they are not all paying top marginal rates at present.

But they are paying. For example, in the last quarter Western Deep Levels paid 70 per cent overall, compared with 64.9 per cent the previous quarter and 66.3 per cent in the financial year to December 1979. And Free State Geduld paid 69.3 per cent for December quarter, 69.8 per cent for September quarter and 66.8 per cent for the financial year ended last September.

Dr Danie Krige, group financial engineer of the Anglo Transvaal Group, says that to demonstrate the effects of the formulae when the gold price and costs change, the formulae for the relevant rates can be expressed as follows:

Tax amount equals 56.4 per cent of total revenue less 60 per cent of costs.

Tax plus surcharge plus loan levy equals 64.9 per cent of total revenue less 69 per cent of costs.

And the whole basketful of tax including lease payments would be 69.8 per cent of total revenue less 74.3 per cent of costs.

As he puts it: "The state therefore effectively takes in total some 70 per cent of every additional rand arising from a gold price increase and only bears 60 per cent in any increase in costs as these escalate."

He says the system of payments is similar to that applicable to individual taxpayers in most countries. Little or no income tax is payable by people in the lower income brackets and higher rates accrue to those in the upper income levels. This is usually effected by a system of deducting specified fixed tax free amounts from the taxable income and then applying a rate to the balance, the rate being either fixed or escalating—usually the latter.

The gold mining tax formulae are similar in nature and could also be expressed as:

Total tax would be 74.3 per cent of taxable profit after having deducted a tax free 6 per cent of revenue.

This sort of formula would more accurately reflect the position. There is, in fact, a tax free amount which is the equivalent of 6 per cent of revenue while a flat rate of 74.3 per cent is levied on the balance. But a formula such as this would be too simple for the complicated bureaucratic mind, or might it be that even a government becomes embarrassed when it is clear to all just how much tax is paid by the gold mines? It could be a discouragement to would-be investors.

Perhaps the most that the mines can hope for in the next budget, is relief from the 10 per cent loan levy and maybe the abolition of the 5 per cent surcharge. This would have the effect of reducing the tax collectors' take by some 10 per cent from the top marginal rate and at the same time of making gold shares just that little extra attractive—particularly if they are bought with financial funds.

Harold Fridjhon

# A NEW BRITISH CONCEPT IN CONSUMER SAFETY

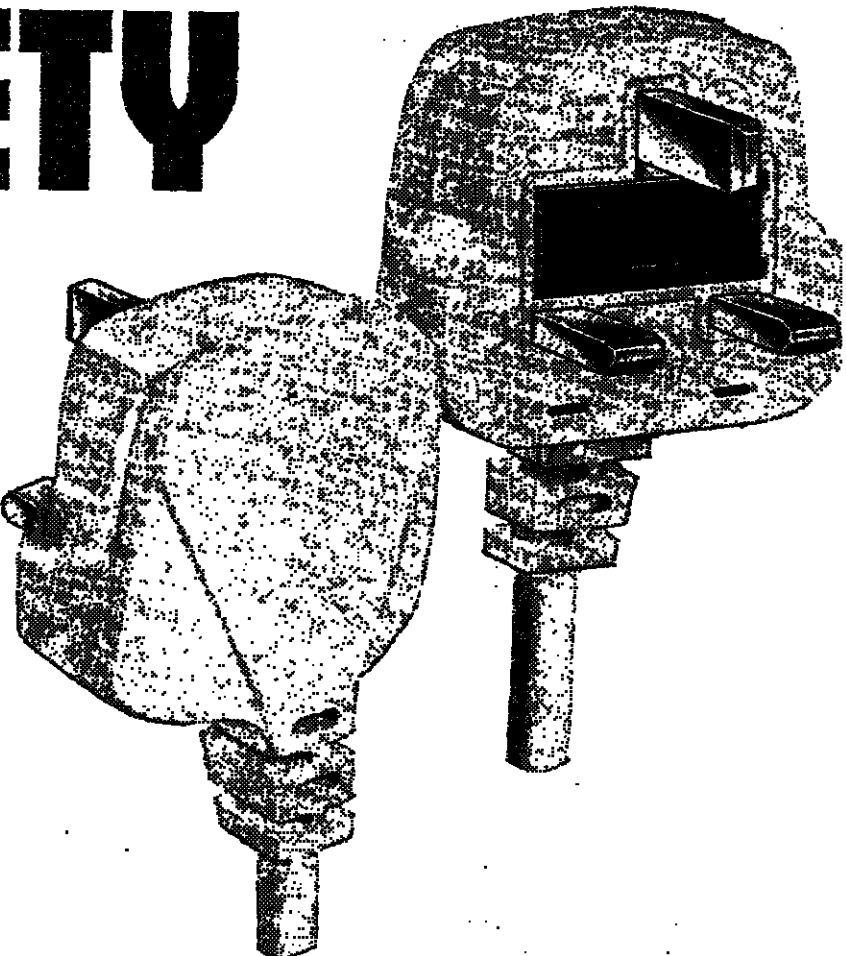
The Pencon plug has been developed in the interest of public safety. The objective was to produce an integral plug lead which would be supplied to electrical appliance manufacturers thereby enabling appliances to be ready for use immediately and safely without any additional work on the part of the user.

Furthermore the Pencon plug complies with the requirements of BS.1363A as far as this is relevant and in fact goes beyond this Standard in view of the radically new nature of the product. It is accepted by BEAB (British Electrotechnical Approvals Board) for use on BEAB approved appliances.

Electrical appliances fitted with the Pencon plug lead are now on sale in shops and showrooms throughout the U.K. and will come into even more widespread use as time goes on. A number of large and leading appliance manufacturers have adopted the Pencon plug as a standard fitting throughout their ranges of products with similar intentions in evidence by many other manufacturers in the electrical appliance industry. The plug is protected by patents and copyright designs.

## The PENCON Plug

Developed in the interest of consumer safety by Pendle Connectors Ltd., Pendle Mill, Elizabeth Street, Leigh WN7 3AE, Tel. (0942) 603412, which is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Ward & Goldstone Group of Companies of which Pencon is a registered trademark.



## Defence costs could hinder war on inflation

Appropriately we start with a general rather than a particular approach to the stock market. Lyddon and Company used to be as Welsh as leeks but its latest circular has Austin Friars in big print and "Also Cardiff and Swansea" in tiny print.

From its new address, Lyddon notices the way this January rally in shares went almost hand in hand with the first day of a potentially damaging steel strike at a time when sterling was strong.

Clearly the market was looking elsewhere, and it is right to be optimistic because once again we are in a cold war. "It is clearly going to be difficult to justify plunging the free world into recession with the object of beating inflation at a time when sharply higher defence spending has become a necessity."

The hopeful writer continues: "Gold is being bought in a panic... gilts are being bought on a recession thesis which is now probably historic, and equities are being accumulated by investors who are just a step ahead of the game."

The qualifying phrase tells us all. The month's selections are North Sea oils again, Premier, KCA and Ultramar Convertible; Selection Trust in mining finance; and one special situation, industrial, Royal Worcester.

Writing ahead of the confusion in gilts at the end of last week, Mr Bill Buchan of Kemp-Geek writes of a fundamentally bullish gilt market. He was not only broker to comment that the new long run would be oversubscribed on Wednesday. It is what happened after that pains some gilt-edged operators.

Another general essay comes

from Mr Robin Griffiths of Carr Seabag. He is a charist. In FT 30 index terms, Mr Griffiths sees "plenty of resistance to get through between 460 and 480. I would not chase this market, because although the pattern is potentially bullish it carried with it the same caveat that we obtained from the All Share Index. We have the first horn but not yet the bull." He finds international factors alarming.

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Against this background Mr Potter recommends Cadbury Schweppes, Associated Biscuit, RHM and Brooke Bond. One impression the author is at pains to eliminate is that food shares are good defensive stocks in weak stock markets. They do however "show relative strength during periods when the economy performs below trend and the stock market is strong."

How bad for building in 1980? is the question put by Mr Martin Murch, writing in a new Simon & Coates circular. His answer is: "Very bad indeed for trading, but investors should nevertheless be increasing their weighting in the building material sector and, selectively, in the contracting and construction sector in anticipation of the next cyclical upswing."

Mr Murch particularly recommends: Blue Circle, BPF Industries, London Brick, Marley, Ready Mixed Concrete, Redland, Tunnel Holdings and Barratt Developments.

For 1979 as a whole, total profits of London clearing banks are expected to rise by 40 per cent to £1.51bn. The individual choice is NatWest. For Barclays last year of £505.7m against £373.3m; for Lloyds £258m against £182.3m; Midland profits last year are thought to have been £291.8m compared with £231.4m; and for NatWest, £461.8m against £297.9m.

A second weighty sector circular is out, this one from

Vickers da Costa on Food Manufacturing. The author, Mr Tim Potter points out frankly that the food sector as represented by the FT Actuaries Sub-Index is not uniform.

"For example, Unilever alone earns more profits than the remaining major food companies put together, but its share price performance is strongly influenced by the performance of sterling on world currency markets."

Food manufacturing shares are thought to offer investors reliability and stability and several shares have above average yields. Profits should compare well with those of much of the manufacturing industry.

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The writer points to the historic pattern of building companies shares doing well when interest rates are falling. Building materials profits are free from import competition, and they benefit from readily implemented price increases.

Rowe & Pittman discusses the outlook for property shares this year. Interest rates are unusually high but the sector is not facing 1974-75 all over again.

Since 1975 net rental and investment income has risen 38 per cent, interest payable has fallen 25 per cent and pre-tax profits are £115m compared with pre-tax losses of £36m.

"Even if interest rates stayed at current levels for a full twelve months, we calculate that pre-tax profits of the sector would continue to rise." However, rental growth is expected to slow down.

But discounts to assets by share prices are large at 35 per cent, and the author recommends: British Land, Brixton, Hammerson "A," Land Securities, MEPC and Slough Estates. For above average yield, Beaumont City Offices and Estates Property are selected.

The major individual share recommendation of the week is Tozer Kewley & Millbourn from Mr R. M. Havard of House Gault.

In 1978 Tozer made pre-tax profits of £7.6m. For this year the author expects £14.5m with a further modest advance in 1980. At 70p the 1979 figures put Tozer on a price-earnings ratio of 3.7. If, as Mr Havard expects, the 1979 dividend rises by 35 per cent, it would still be covered four times. The shares already yield 7.4 per cent.

Peter Wainwright

## Business appointments

## New company secretary at House of Fraser

Mr D. K. Milligan, a former director and company secretary of Harrods has been appointed a director and company secretary of House of Fraser. Mr John Atton has retired as a director and company secretary. Mr F. E. Read, managing director of Binns and Mr M. M. McMaster, managing director of House of Fraser, have been appointed directors of House of Fraser.

Mr M. P. Bridger, Mr R. V. Shilling and Mr D. W. S. Wright have been appointed to the board of Macarthy's Pharmaceuticals in a non-executive capacity. They are managing directors respectively of the retail, surgical and wholesale divisions.

Mr J. G. Hogg is to be chairman of the new company formed by Hogg Robinson Group, which is merging its international and reinsurance divisions into one subsidiary company. Mr R. B. Keville has been appointed deputy chairman and chief executive of the marine division. Mr G. T. Geddes will become managing director and chief executive, Mr

D. W. T. Mackenzie has been appointed chief executive of the North American division and Mr T. L. F. Royle has become chairman of Hogg Robinson Overseas. Mr K. G. Weir has been appointed deputy chairman of Hogg Robinson Overseas. Mr P. E. Paulson has become managing director. Mr H. M. J. Ritchie has been appointed managing director of Hogg Robinson (UK). Mr Paulson has also been appointed a director of the Hogg Robinson Group.

Mr R. A. Iles has been appointed a deputy chairman of Alexander Bowden Insurance Brokers. Mr R. W. Gardener, Mr R. J. Coward, Mr R. W. Larkin and Mr J. W. Leach have been appointed managing directors and Mr S. A. Cook and Mr P. R. J. Tritton have been appointed directors of the company.

Mr A. J. Wilkins and Mr T. H. Holroyd are to become directors of Simplex Piling and Mr Wilkins will be appointed managing director. Mr J. N. Birch will retire from his position as managing director.

## Warning from

## Burco Dean

Recovery from the engineering dispute has been slow and the level of interest rates has led many retailers and distributors to work on lower stock levels, warns Mr Spencer Crookenden, chairman of Burco Dean, in his latest review. These factors are "severely affecting" trading in the current half-year.

Burco Dean's activities take in domestic appliances and kitchen furniture as well as general engineering. The group has new products aimed at the more buoyant segments of the market and these will be coming on stream early in 1980, but in the present economic climate, prospects for the full year must be uncertain, the chairman warns. The notes to the accounts refer to a £24,000 ex-gratia payment to a director.

## McCorquodale's confidence

Barring unforeseen circumstances, the board of McCorquodale and Co expects next year to report another increase in profits and earnings.

## Fibre plant to close

About 180 workers will lose their jobs when McCleery and L'Amie end production of high-bulk acrylic yarn at Saintfield, Co Down, over the next few months. The company blames losses at the plant on overcapacity in the industry and competition from Far East producers.



## MARKET REPORTS

## Still too many ships for too few cargoes

Freight markets faced mixed fortunes last week with the dry cargo sector setting down after the recent furor over Soviet grain sales. In tanker chartering the Gulf was the most active zone with the other leading areas showing little change in their sluggish performances of late.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the start of the week brought a brisk demand from several oil companies including BP, Gulf and Shell, for oil tankers for the late January/early February period. Against the background of a sizeable volume of available tonnage this demand generated hopes that not only would this capacity be absorbed but that some improvement in rate levels might result.

## Freight report

However, the supply/demand balance was not met with still too many ships for too few cargoes. What inquiry there was soon satisfied leaving some 25 vessels in the Gulf without cargo and rates no better.

## Freight report

off. Brokers were unable to explain the sudden spike of demand and it is unlikely that the surplus tonnage will be absorbed within this week.

Around the viccs and ulcs were booked last week at rates between worldscale 42 and worldscale 47 depending on slow or full steaming basis. Mobil took two vics for trips to Europe at worldscale 45 and worldscale 47 on full steaming. Some 25 vessels in the Gulf also booked tonnage for Europe or Caribbean voyages.

In addition the latter paid up to worldscale 33.25 for a u/c to Europe while Social secured worldscale 30 on a 400-tonner to the Caribbean.

No change was seen in the level of activity experienced in the Caribbean sector so far this year. The only hope was that rates appeared to be bottoming out but there was no sign of fixing increasing to provide an incentive for rates to rise. Mediterranean trading remained slow but West Africa saw a little more activity.

Confusion still prevailed in the United States over what the dockers will do in respect of grain allowed to be shipped to Russia under the terms of the five-year agreement. At present there is no solution to the deadlock.

Many rumours circulated during the week about Soviet efforts to re-let tonnage but as usual the "first" information was available. Some Soviet chartered vessels have also been switched to the Argentine trades. Charterers were expressing fears that if Russia successfully re-let a large volume of its fixed tonnage this could potentially swamp the market and depress rates.

Certainly such fears were not lived up to last week.

Interest in grain-fixing was keen and rates firmed up as a result. About \$14.50 was the average level for large transatlantic shipments and this moved up through the week ending with an unconfirmed \$16 being paid for a 35,000-tonner from the United States Gulf to Holland.

Based on this steady rise and continuing good level of inquiry the prospects are that rates will increase further this week.

David Robinson

## More share prices

Commercial & Industrial  
The Boeing Company  
North British Properties  
Shipping  
Hunting Gibsons

## Bank Base Rates

ABN Bank 17%  
Barclays Bank 17%  
BCCI Bank 17%  
Consolidated Credits 17%  
C. Hoare & Co 17%  
Lloyds Bank 17%  
London Mercantile 17%  
Midland Bank 17%  
Nat Westminster 17%  
Paribas 17%  
Rothmans 17%  
TSB 17%  
Williams and Glyn's 17%

\* 7 day deposit on some of £10,000 and under 15%, up to £25,000 15%, over £25,000 16%.

M. J. H. Nightingale & Co. Limited

27/28 Lovat Lane London EC3R 8EB Telephone: 01-638 8651

## The Over-the-Counter Market

Consolidation 2000's Company

73 - 6.7 9.2 +4.3  
39 - 1.3 8.9 +2.5  
227 - 2.7 13.8 6.1  
91 - 2.0 5.5 10.0  
350 - 17.5 5.0 -1.0  
94 - 2.7 9.4 5.8  
108 - 12.8 11.9 +8.4  
106 - 1.1 16.5 15.6  
62 - 2.2 8.4 +3.6  
115 - 1.2 6.3 10.1  
250 - 3.7 12.5 +5.8  
223 - 14.3 6.4 +5.5  
224 - 1.3 2.9 +5.5  
76 - 12.0 15.8 +1.7  
55 - 1.2 5.4 5.4  
82 - 1.4 4.4 5.3  
85 - 11.5 6.2 7.2

\* Accounts prepared under provision of SSAP15.

## Wall Street

New York, Jan. 23.—A late attempt at a rally failed to bring the stock market to solid ground today.

Advancing issues did manage to narrow the nearly two-to-one gap of the early trading but declines still led at the close by about 67 to about 345.

The Dow Jones industrial average was off 3.84 to 876.11.

Volume slipped to 47,100,000 shares from Thursday's New York Stock Exchange total of 59,070,000, despite several substantial blocks, including a 1,058,600-share block of United States steel.

## Gold falls \$46.50

New York, Jan. 23.—Gold fell another \$46.50 to \$350.00 a troy ounce, the lowest since Jan. 15, when it fell to \$350.00.

## Gold falls \$46.50

CHICAGO, Jan. 23.—Unsettled, the price of soybeans fell 1/4¢ to \$10.00 a bushel, while corn fell 1/4¢ to \$3.00 a bushel.

## SILVER

closed down in light buying at \$10.00 a troy ounce.

COINAGE, Jan. 23.—Unsettled, the price of silver fell 1/4¢ to \$10.00 a troy ounce.

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## Unit Trust Prices—change on the week FT Index change on week 452.4-74(1.6%)

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## Stock Exchange Prices

### Capitalization and week's change

ACCOUNT DAYS - Dealings Begin Today. Dealings End, Feb. 8. 6 Contango Day, Feb. 11. Settlement Day, Feb. 18.

§ Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days

(Current market price multiplied by the number of shares in issue for the stock quoted)

[illegible]







## Commercial property focus on industry

In a fairly slack property market, much of what activity there is concentrated mainly in the industrial field.

One scheme on which work has started is on the Hampton Farm industrial estate, Hounslow, which is being carried out by the Post Office Staff Superannuation Fund in conjunction with Second London Wall.

The site is one of seven acres in Hampton Road West, Hounslow, just off Apex Corner, with good access to Heathrow, Junction 3 of the M4, and only half a mile from the M3.

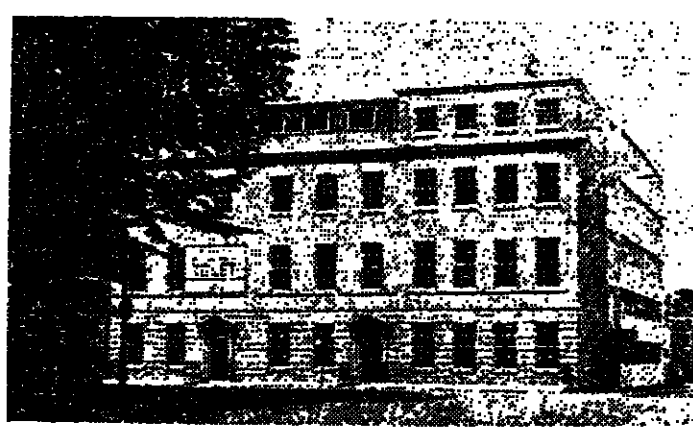
The scheme provides for warehouse and industrial space up to a total of 155,000 sq ft. A wide range of units is being built, from warehousing of 39,000 sq ft down to nursery factory units of 1,500 sq ft. The first are expected to be ready from September onwards.

The letting agents are Bernard Thorpe and Partners, who are also acting as agents for the scheme. In Manchester, the British Steel Corporation and Tarmac Developments have forward sold a warehouse and industrial development on 3.3 acres of the 13-acre Parkway Estate, Trafford Park, to Excess Insurance Co. The scheme, which is now under construction, comprises about 75,000 sq ft

arranged in two terraces of 11 units, which can be combined in sizes from about 6,500 sq ft. In contrast to other developments in Trafford Park, the units will be fully fitted to include heating, lighting and carpeting for the offices.

Elliott Son and Boyton acted for the vendors and has been retained jointly by King and Co. as letting agents. Excess Insurance is introduced to the scheme by Wright Oliphant.

Near Aberdeen, Teesland Development Co. (Scotland), acting as project manager for the Merchant Navy Officers' Pension Fund, has completed a warehouse and light industrial scheme on a site of 1.32 acres on the Bridge of Don industrial estate. The development was forward sold to the fund before construction started in August, 1978, and comprises four units with a total of 24,000 sq ft including ancillary offices. The scheme has been fully let at rents approaching £2 a sq ft. Clinton Skene Property Services acted for



Portland House, Bristol, which has changed hands for more than £65,000.

investment on its 17-acre site in Frimley Road, Camberley, Surrey. Offers in excess of £4m are being looked for. It has a total of 120,000 sq ft of space. Out of this, 74,000 sq ft will be available with full vacant possession on a site of 15 acres, providing considerable scope for redevelopment. GKN will take a lease on the balance of 46,000 sq ft on a 25-year lease at an initial rent of

£90,000, or just under £2 a sq ft. Rents on other schemes in the town have recently been at something over £2.35 a sq ft. The sale of the freehold investment is through Edwards Bigwood and Bewlay.

In Edinburgh, almost half of a new industrial and warehouse scheme giving about 101,000 sq ft has been let in not much more over three months since it was officially opened. The scheme is the Clifton trading estate at Newbridge, just outside the central part of the city.

It is the first major project carried out in Scotland by Barclays Bank Trust Co., and has been developed in conjunction with Drum Industrial Estates Ltd. Tenants include J. H. Sankey and Sons with 21,300 sq ft, Asda Ltd with 13,400 sq ft, and Murray Metals Ltd with 10,650 sq ft. Units which remain available range in size from 6,700 sq ft up to 31,900 sq ft and are available for immediate occupation at £1.65 a sq ft a year. Letting is through Watson Neave, of Edinburgh, and Debenham Tewson and Chinnocks, of London.

An unusual transaction is the acquisition of the former Courtauld textile warehouse at 41/43 Houndsditch, Nottingham, by Tony Eridge Properties for redevelopment as offices. Built in the mid-1940s, it is located just to the south of the Old Market Square, in the main commercial part of the city.

The property is to be extensively restored behind its existing facade to provide 16,000 sq ft of offices on basement, ground and three upper floors. When completed later this summer, it will be, it is thought, the only self-contained office building of over 15,000 sq ft available in Nottingham.

In Bristol, Portland House, an office building of some 30,000 sq ft in the city's well-known Portland Square, has changed hands at a price of over £65,000. Completed only four years ago, it was designed in the Georgian style to match surrounding buildings. About 14,300 sq ft is currently let to produce an income of £25,500 a year and there is vacant possession of the remainder. The sale was through Smith Melzak and

Co and J. P. Sturge and Sons, and the property was acquired by clients of Bernard Thorpe and Partners.

Just topped out is the first phase of the new Cloth Hall Court development in Infirmary Street, Leeds. The scheme is being carried out by Electricity Supply Nominees and the design is by T. P. Bennett and Son. This part of the development is due for completion in July and will provide a total of 61,000 sq ft of offices on six floors, plus 44 on-site parking spaces. Rents are expected to be of the order of £5.50 a sq ft. Letting is through Richard Ellis, development consultants to ESN for the entire scheme, jointly with Weatherall Hollis and Gale and Fletcher King. The scheme will ultimately provide a total of 165,000 sq ft of offices, phase consisting of 38,000 sq ft started recently and is due for completion in April, 1981. Contractors for the phases currently under construction are Higgs and Hill Northern Ltd.

Gerald Ely

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3575, 3577, 3579, 3581, 3583, 3585, 3587, 3589, 3591, 3593, 3595, 3597, 3599



## PERSONAL CHOICE



Scillonian flowers growers: A picture taken by Alexander Gibson at the end of the last century (The Gibsons of Scilly, ITV, 1.30)

● Yorkshire Television's *The Sandbaggers* (ITV, 9.00) is the best series of espionage thrillers that ITV (or BBC, for that matter) has come up with for years. If you don't believe me, watch tonight's instalment, the first in a new batch. It tells how one of the "special ops" agents in British intelligence—the Sandbaggers—is sent to Bulgaria to take delivery of a list of Iron Curtain agents from the turncoat chief of the Bulgarian secret service. I have not explained why I think *The Sandbaggers* is exceptional. I can do it in a line. It is written, acted, directed and photographed in a taut style that never slackens. So tightly coiled is it, indeed, that it does not even let its opening music go the full course but hacks it off, impatiently, in the middle of a rising phrase.

● Westward Television, the thriving ITV company based in Plymouth, has contributed a little masterpiece to the About Britain series (ITV, 1.30). The Gibsons of Scilly is about a photographic dynasty, now well into its fourth generation in the breezy shape of Frank who takes smashing pictures of seals and waves and visitors. His forebears specialized in pictures of wrecks and flora and fauna and islanders standing around in classical poses. They were the visual chroniclers of a century and more of Scilly life, and John Bartlett's film, with beautiful, contemporary moving pictures by Gerry Evans, has in turn chronicled the artistic and sociological sensibilities of this remarkable family.

● Tonight's *Panorama* (BBC 1, 8.10) examines the Afghanistan crisis in terms of Pakistan. It includes interviews with General Zia, the President, and with Afghan rebel leaders and their fighters as they cross the Khyber Pass on the way to do battle with the invading Russians.

● So, at last, after all those alarms and excursions, the news and analysis programme *Newsnight* arrives on our screens (BBC 2, 10.45). But why only four nights a week? Does nothing noteworthy happen on a Friday? Saturday? Sunday? A good job newspapers do not have the same mentality.

● Another reminder about tonight's Radio 4 play, *Arnold Yarrow's After Moscow* (7.45), which follows Chekhov's three sisters into middle age. A novel idea. Isabel Dean, Dinah Sheridan and Thelma Whiteley play the sisters, and the hard-working Timothy West is Vershinin.

WHAT THE SYMBOLS MEAN: (STEREO); \*BLACK AND WHITE; (T) REPEAT.

## Broadcasting Guide

Edited by Peter Davalle

## TELEVISION

## BBC 1

9.00 am For Schools, Colleges: A Good Job with Prospects (financial world); 9.30 Biology; 9.52 Communique (behind the scenes on Nationwide); 10.15 Music Time; 10.38 Maths; 11.00 Merry-go Round; 11.25 You and Me: Neighbours (r); 11.40 For Schools, Colleges: General Studies (what we are degrees?); Closedown at 12.05; 12.45 pm News and weather; 1.00 Pebble Mill at One: Includes landscape from the resident expert, Les Bailey; 1.45 How do You Do? For young children; Dressing Up (r); 2.01 For Schools, Colleges, Words and Pictures; 2.18 Japan—The Crowded Islands; 2.40 Going to Work; Closedown at 3.00; 3.15 Songs of Praise: From Bolton (first shown yesterday); 3.55 Play School: Susan Rame's story Cold Feet; 4.20 Touché: Turtle: Cartoon; Grand Outlaw (r); 4.25 Jackanory: Geoffrey Hinefield reads Geoffrey Kilner's *Just Burial*; 4.40 Playhouse: The Princess and the Pea; Arabian Nights-type play for children; With Mick Ford and Laura Harton; 5.10 John Craven's Newsround: Junior newsreel; 5.15 Peter: A birthday celebration; Jack and Jill, the programme's pets, are four tomorrow; 5.40 News; with Peter Woods; 5.55 Nationwide: Includes another instalment of Luke Casey's investigation of the crime.

## BBC 2

10.05 am It Figures: Everyday maths, with Jimmy Young (r); 10.30 Working with Young People: Part 4 of repeated series; 11.00 Play School: Same as BBC 1; 3.55 Closedown at 11.23; 2.15 pm Let's Go: Brian Rix programme for the mentally handicapped; 2.30 Roads to Conflict: The origins of the Arab-Israeli crisis; Part 4: The mandate begins (r); 3.00 That's the Way: The Money Goes: The legal side of buying a second-hand car (r); 3.30 Della Smith's: Cookery Course: How to make stocks and soups (r); Closedown at 3.55; 4.10 Is There Life After School? Teachers who work briefly in industry; With Brian Redhead; Closedown at 4.35; 5.40 Charlie Brown: Cartoon; He's Your Dog, Charlie Brown (r); 6.05 James Burke's: Connections: The link between the battle of Hastings, muck found in Chinese pigsties, and the Third World War; 6.55 Training Day: The Woodhouse Way: The formidable Barbara Woodhouse teaches us how to make our dogs obey the command "Down!" (r); 7.20 News; with sub-titles for the hard of hearing; 7.30 Horizon Special: The Mind's Eye: How the brain allows us to see; And how it can estimate distance—the 3D effect; 8.30 The Goodies: Filmed before the Afghanistan invasion, this comedy programme has the comedians taking part in a remark, the Olympic Games, staged in Britain; 9.00 Des O'Connor Tonight: His guests include Bernie Winters, American singer Pearly Gates, and David Letterman, co-host of The Johnny Carson Tonight Show; 9.50 Cricket: Australia v West Indies. Highlights of today's play in the third test, from Adelaide; 10.20 Russian-Language and People: Part 3 of this course for beginners. More letters from the Russian alphabet, and how to find your way around Moscow; 10.45 Newsnight: Launching of the new, and current affairs programme that goes out every night, from Monday to Thursday (see Personal Choice); 11.30 Arena: Lone Lovich, Portrait of the bizarre rock singer (r); 12.05 am Closedown; J. C. Hall's poem The Island is read by Lyndon Brook (r).

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Timothy West, Isabel Dean and Dinah Sheridan in *After Moscow* (Radio 4, 7.45)

## THAMES

9.30 am For Schools, 9.30 M1 World (spatial relationship); 9.47 Finding Out (Paris); 10.05 How We Used to Live (historical); 10.28 Starring Out (serial); 10.45 The Living Book (musical); 11.01 How We Used to Live (Victorian farm labourers); 11.22 Picture Box; 11.39 Making a Living (German fascism); 12.00 We'll Tell You a Story: For young children. With the magic mirror; 12.10 pm Rainbow: Pupper show; How do you Swi?; 12.30 Numbers at Work: Decimals and measuring in everyday life (r); 1.00 News; with Peter Sissons; 1.20 Thames News; with Robin Houston; 1.30 About Britain: The Gibsons of Scilly. Story of a photographic family (see Personal Choice); 1.40 News; with Peter Sissons; 1.55 Money-Go-Round: Solar heating investigated; making landlords and house repairs; food shopping in New York; 5.45 News; 6.00 Thames News; 6.35 Crossroads: model serial. The proud father (Peter Hill); 7.00 Give Us a Clue: Charades

## THAMES

2.00 Food, Wine and Friends: Actress Susannah York and cookery expert Robert Carrier go shopping in France; 2.30 Film: The Constant Husband (1955). British comedy with Rex Harrison as a man with five wives. Also stars Jay Kendall and Margaret Leighton. Polished, and good fun; 4.15 Clapperboard: The Manchester Polytechnic film archive, and early film-making in Britain; 4.45 The Ravellied Thread: Episode 5 of this period adventure. Sedgwick (Steven Grives) is unmasked; 5.15 Money-Go-Round: Solar heating investigated; making landlords and house repairs; food shopping in New York; 5.45 News; 6.00 Thames News; 6.35 Crossroads: model serial. The proud father (Peter Hill); 7.00 Give Us a Clue: Charades

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## RADIO

## Radio 4

6.00 am News Briefing; 6.10 Farming Week; 6.30 Today; 7.00, 8.00 News; 7.30 8.30 Headlines; 8.45 The Week on 4; 8.55 Patrick Moore: BBC Sound Archives; 9.00 News; 9.05 Start the Week; 9.30 News; 9.55 Money Box; 10.00 Daily Service; 10.45 The Wooden Horse (6); 11.00 News; 11.05 Offshore Britons (3); 11.30 Poetry Please!; 12.00 pm You and Yours; 12.05 The World of the Form; 12.55 Weather; 1.00 The World at One; 1.40 The Archers; 1.50 News; 2.02 Woman's Hour; 3.00 News; 3.02 Listen with Mother; 3.15 Play; 3.18 News; 4.45 Story: Ship in a Bottle; 5.00 PM; 5.55 Weather; 6.00 News; 6.30 Give or Take; 7.00 News; 7.05 The Archers; 7.20 News; 7.45 Play: After Mincow, by Arnold Yarrow; 8.15 Penelope Portraits; 9.30 Kaleidoscope; 10.00 The World Tonight; 10.30 The News Quiz; 11.00 News; 11.15 Financial World Tonight; 11.30 Today in Parliament; 12.05 am-12.23 Weather; 11.00 Regional news, weather; 11.30 Regional news, weather; 11.50 Regional news, weather; 12.00 Regional news, weather; 12.30 Regional news, weather; 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## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING HERE

APPOINTMENTS VACANCY 7, 16  
COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES  
AND SERVICES TO THE  
BUSINESS WORLD 22  
DOMESTIC SITUATIONS 10, 11  
ENTERTAINMENT 21  
EDUCATIONAL 21  
FLAT SHARING 23  
LEGAL NOTICES 22  
MOTOR CARS 21  
PUBLIC AND EDUCATIONAL  
APPOINTMENTS 22  
PUBLIC NOTICES 22  
RENTALS 23  
SECRETARIAL AND NON-SECRETARIAL  
APPOINTMENTS 23  
SITUATIONS WANTED 23  
THE TIMES READER 21  
SERVICES DIRECTORY 21

For a complete list of classified advertising rates, please refer to the Times Classified Advertising Guide, available from the Times Classified Advertising Department, 1, Abchurch Lane, London EC4N 3DF.

Private Advertisers Only

APPOINTMENTS 01-837 3311

PROPERTY ESTATE AGENTS 01-837 3311

PERSONAL TRADE 01-837 3311

MANCHESTER OFFICE 01-837 3311

Queries in connection with advertisements that have appeared, other than cancellations or alterations, should be sent to the Classified Advertising Department, 1, Abchurch Lane, London EC4N 3DF.

All advertisements are subject to the conditions of acceptance of Times Newspapers Limited, copies of which are available on request.

PLEASE CHECK YOUR AD.

We make every effort to avoid errors in advertisements. Each one is carefully checked and proofread. When thousands of advertisements are handled each day mistakes do occur and we ask therefore that you check your ad and, if you spot an error, report it to the Classified Advertising Department immediately by telephone on 01-837 3311 (Ext. 719). We regret that we cannot be responsible for more than one day's incorrect insertion if you do not.

THE DEADLINE FOR ALL COPY IS 24 HOURS.

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## DEATHS

FRANK, On 25th January, peacefully, at his home in Kent, aged 82, Mr. Frank, husband of Mary and father of John, died. Burial at Maidstone. Mr. Frank was a member of the Kent County Council and a former Mayor of Maidstone.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

## THE LADY HALLSHAM FUND

exists to help teenagers who have been in the care of the Society to make their own way in the world. This project, established by Lord Hallsham in memory of his wife, needs your help.

Donations and requests for further information to: MARK WYNDHAM, ROOM 2, CHURCH OF ENGLAND COUNCIL'S SOCIETY, OLD TOWN HALL, KENNINGTON ROAD, LONDON SE11 4QD.

## IN MEMORY OF THE LATE LADY HALLSHAM

The Church of England Council's Society is a voluntary organization which has been in the care of the Society to make their own way in the world. This project, established by Lord Hallsham in memory of his wife, needs your help.

Donations and requests for further information to: MARK WYNDHAM, ROOM 2, CHURCH OF ENGLAND COUNCIL'S SOCIETY, OLD TOWN HALL, KENNINGTON ROAD, LONDON SE11 4QD.

## THE FRIENDS OF THE ELDERLY

Have been helping frail elderly people in a quiet way ever since the war. Some of our members are now over 80 years old. We need your help to continue our work.

For further information, please contact: THE FRIENDS OF THE ELDERLY, 42 Ebury Street, London SW1W 9JZ.

## CANCER RESEARCH

The scientific understanding of cancer is the one sure way of our clinical progress towards our common goal. Please make your contribution to the Cancer Research Campaign.

Room 100A, P.O. Box 123, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London WC2A 3PS.

## SBC RADIO FOUR producer wishes to hear from women who have

been successful in their careers. We are looking for women who have achieved success in their careers and who are willing to share their experiences with other women.

For further information, please contact: SBC RADIO FOUR, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## TELEGRAMS—Author seeks interesting

humorous or surprising telegrams. Send your telegrams to: THE TELEGRAMS, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## ENGLISH TRAVEL, Camp, Home,

and abroad. We offer a wide range of travel services, including flights, hotels, and car hire. For further information, please contact: ENGLISH TRAVEL, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## MAGNET AND STUMP—An

exciting new game. Play it now! For further information, please contact: MAGNET AND STUMP, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## JOEL wishes to announce that he is leaving

his home at 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH. He is moving to a new home at 101, Strand, London WC2R 0PH. For further information, please contact: JOEL, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## SUPER PROJECT

Coordinators in Non-Social Areas. We are looking for people who are interested in social issues and who are willing to help us in our work. For further information, please contact: SUPER PROJECT, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## CLUB ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE CASUALTY OF St. James's, London. We are looking for people who are interested in social issues and who are willing to help us in our work. For further information, please contact: THE CASUALTY OF St. James's, London, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## SPORT AND RECREATION

WEEKLY AND WEEK-END. Action sports, walking, swimming, and more. For further information, please contact: SPORT AND RECREATION, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## YACHTS AND BOATS

30FT LUXURY SAILING YACHT. For further information, please contact: YACHTS AND BOATS, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## UK HOLIDAYS

18TH CENTURY LODGE on north coast. For further information, please contact: UK HOLIDAYS, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES. For further information, please contact: CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

£2.75 per line (min. 2 lines). For further information, please contact: CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

£13.75 per single column centimetre (min. 3 cms.). For further information, please contact: CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

£16.50 per single column centimetre (min. 3 cms.). For further information, please contact: CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

On all categories except motors, property under £30,000 and weekend shop-around, £10 per single column centimetre (min. 3 cms.). For further information, please contact: CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

Series discount four consecutive days plus 5th day free. For further information, please contact: CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES, 100, Strand, London WC2R 0PH.

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## PERSONAL COLUMNS

ALSO ON PAGES 22 and 23

## HOLIDAYS AND VILLAS

## BARGAIN HOLIDAYS FEB/APRIL

inc flights, hotel, 7 full board

Malta from £299.00

Crete from £299.00

Corfu from £299.00

discounts up to 50% on flights

according to dates of departure

according to dates of departure

according to dates of departure

according to dates of departure

according to dates of departure

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